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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF

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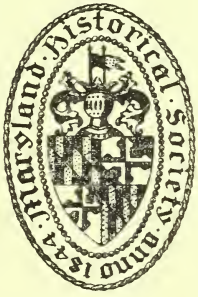

VOLUME XXXVIII

BALTIMORE
1943

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVIII

PAGE

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL. *By Lewellys F. Barker,* 1

"SWEET AIR" OR "QUINN," BALTIMORE COUNTY. *By Ronald T. Abercrombie,* 19

READING AND OTHER RECREATIONS OF MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776. *By Joseph Towne Wheeler,* 37, 167

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND NEAR THE LEONARD CALVERT HOUSE. *By Henry Chandlee Forman,* 65

THE WEDNESDAY CLUB: A BRIEF SKETCH FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES. *By Ottilie Sutro,* 60

THE WARDEN PAPERS, *continued. By William D. Hoyt, Jr.,* 69

BOOK REVIEWS, ... 86, 192, 287, 370

NOTES AND QUERIES, ... 90, 198, 297, 376

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, ... 92

THE REFUGEES FROM THE ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO IN MARYLAND. *By Walter Charlton Hartridge,* 103

THE CALVERT-STIER CORRESPONDENCE: LETTERS FROM AMERICA TO THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1797-1828. *Edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr.,* 123, 261, 337

THE REVEREND JOHN BOWIE, TORY. *By Lucy Leigh Bowie,* 141

NOTES ON THE PRIMITIVE HISTORY OF WESTERN MARYLAND. *By William B. Marye,* 161

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER, *continued,* 181, 362

MARYLAND'S FIRST WARSHIP. *By Hamilton Owens,* 199

CIVIL WAR SONG SHEETS: ONE OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *By Raphael Semmes,* 205

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR, *continued. By Charles Branch Clark,* 230

LITERARY CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND, 1700-1776. *By Joseph Towne Wheeler,* 273

LIGHT ON THE FAMILY OF GOV. JOSIAS FENDALL. *By Nannie Ball Nimmo and William B. Marye,* 277

BENNET ALLEN, FIGHTING PARSON. *By Josephine Fisher,* 299

MAGIC IN EARLY BALTIMORE. *By Milbourne Christopher,* 323

CAPT. ROBERT MORRIS OF RATCLIFFE MANOR. *By Louis Dow Scisco,* . . 331

LETTERS OF THE HAYNIE FAMILY. *Edited by Doris Maslin Cohn,* . . . 345

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
"Quinn" or "Sweet Air," from an Early Photograph, ...	opp. 19
Part of Maryland Geological Survey Map (Baltimore County) . .	opp. 22
"Quinn" or "Sweet Air" Dwelling House as It Now Stands, ...	25
Details of Brick Patterns at "Sweet Air,"	28
Stairway at "Sweet Air,"	opp. 30
Artifacts Found near Leonard Calvert House at St. Mary's, . . .	opp. 56
Artifacts from St. Mary's, ...	58
Mrs. George Calvert (Rosalie Eugenia Stier) (1778-1821), . . .	opp. 123
George Calvert (1768-1838), ...	opp. 132
"War Park" or "Rylie's Discovery,"	opp. 141
The *Defence*, a Reconstruction, ...	opp. 199
Typical Song Sheet Issued by Confederate Sympathizers, ...	211
Pledge to the Fair by a Confederate	226

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVIII MARCH, 1943 No. 1

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL [1]

By LEWELLYS F. BARKER, M. D.

When Mr. Griswold invited me to address you tonight, he suggested that I speak either on "The History of the Quakers in Maryland" or on "The Early Days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital." Owing to pressure of circumstances, it was not possible, at this time, for me to prepare carefully the kind of paper that would befit the former topic so I decided to choose the second. It was my good fortune to live in the Johns Hopkins Hospital for nine years (from 1891 to 1900); I therefore saw much of it and of its personnel in its earlier days, and I am hopeful that my memories of that period, even if recounted in a somewhat randomish manner, may not be wholly uninteresting to you.

The founder of the Johns Hopkins University and of the Johns Hopkins Hospital was, as you know, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). I was brought up in Canada as a Quaker myself and have known from earliest life the special interest shown by Quakers in education on the one hand and in the mitigation of illness and pain on the other. It is said that a friend of Johns Hopkins once told him that "two things are sure to live—a university to train youth and a hospital to relieve suffering."

Two of Baltimore's greatest benefactors—Johns Hopkins and George Peabody—were rich merchants. Johns Hopkins made his money in this city, George Peabody in Georgetown, District of

[1] Remarks made at a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, May 11, 1942.

Columbia (though he later became a banker in London, England). At a dinner given by John W. Garrett, George Peabody talked with Johns Hopkins and told him that though he had enjoyed the accumulation of money he had found higher pleasure and greater happiness in giving it away for good and humane purposes. You will recall that Mr. Peabody gave this city about a million dollars for the endowment of the Peabody Institute and that Johns Hopkins left his fortune of seven millions to be divided after his death equally between the university and the hospital that were to bear his name.

It is said that the lawyer who wrote the will of Johns Hopkins was Charles J. M. Gwinn, one of the trustees he selected, a wise and cautious man. Though the University and the Hospital were incorporated separately, nine of the twelve trustees designated were trustees in both corporations and there has been close cooperation between the two institutions ever since. Francis T. King was made President of the Hospital Board of Trustees and exerted a powerful influence while he lived. After his death he was succeeded by William T. Dixon and still later by Judge Henry D. Harlan.

Though the University was incorporated as early as 1867, nothing was done until after the death of Johns Hopkins in 1873. Then the University Trustees, after consultation with President Eliot of Harvard, President White of Cornell and President Angell of Michigan, happily chose as President of the new University, Daniel C. Gilman, who was largely responsible for the selection of the faculty and for decisions as to the policy to be followed by the new institution. The story of how President Gilman went about it has been well told in the volume he wrote, entitled *The Launching of a University* (1906). Up to his time, American institutions of higher education had been based upon the idea of the English colleges. But Gilman and his wise board of trustees did not want simply another college to be a rival of those already in existence. They decided that, rather than merely a college, they wanted a university, an institution in which graduate studies would be emphasized.

Mr. Gilman, with the approval of his trustees, visited Great Britain, France and Germany in order to study educational conditions in those countries. In Great Britain he consulted James

Bryce regarding Oxford and Cambridge and he also interviewed Jowett, Lord Kelvin, Tyndall, Spencer and Huxley. In France he talked with the greater men of the Sorbonne and in Germany he gained an inside view of the universities there from von Holst. On his return to America he reported to his trustees and they decided to choose a faculty composed of the best men obtainable before deciding upon the courses to be given and the methods of teaching and examination to be adopted. The group selected as professors included Sylvester, Gildersleeve, Remsen, Newell Martin, Morris and Rowland, later on to be joined by Haupt, Brooks, Bloomfield, Adams, Ely and others—a truly remarkable list of names, many of them destined to become illustrious in the history of education in America.

Despite the prejudice against biology, Gilman invited Huxley to give the address at the formal opening of the University on Oct. 3rd, 1876. There was no prayer at this meeting and some of the Baltimore people who were on the alert for impiety were very critical; it was bad enough to have Huxley, but to have Huxley without prayer seemed to many to be intolerable!

During its first year, much time was spent in discussions by the faculty of the methods to be pursued. It was decided to lay most stress on seminar courses and upon instruction in laboratories, and to attract able students to study for the Ph. D. degree by providing for a number of fellowships. As everyone knows, the University thus became a pioneer in higher education through its success in the encouragement of original research. Many of the men trained here became teachers in other colleges and universities throughout the country.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital, built upon a site in East Baltimore chosen by Johns Hopkins himself before he died, was not opened until 1889. The Hospital trustees sought the advice of experts as to methods of construction and organization and the reports of these experts were studied carefully by Dr. John Shaw Billings of Washington who was the principal adviser of the trustees at this time. Billings deserves, I think, greater credit than he has ever received for the services he rendered to the Hospital and to the Medical School of which it was to be a part; many of the ideas and methods attributed to others in reality undoubtedly had their origin in the brain of Billings. It was

Billings and Gilman who decided that the Hospital should be organized in units, the work to be arranged in departments, each with a responsible head, and over all a director.

The long delay in the opening of the Hospital was due to the wise decision of the trustees to pay for the construction out of income without encroaching upon the capital endowment. Though Dr. William H. Welch, called from New York, was appointed as pathologist to the Hospital in 1884 and, after further work in Europe, entered upon his duties in the pathological laboratory in 1886, the chiefs of the clinical departments were not chosen until later. Dr. William Osler (one year older than Dr. Welch) was made Physician-in-Chief, Dr. William S. Halsted became Surgeon-in-Chief and Dr. Howard A. Kelly, Gynecologist-in-Chief. During the first few months President Gilman lived in the Hospital and acted as Director; later Dr. Henry M. Hurd was made Superintendent of the Hospital and with his family lived on the second floor of the central administration building; among the younger men he was often referred to as "Uncle Hank." Dr. Hurd was Superintendent until 1911 when he was succeeded by Dr. Winford H. Smith. Miss Rachel Bonner, a demure Quakeress, was Matron, Mr. L. Winder Emory was Purveyor and Mr. James D. Leake, Treasurer. The nursing was temporarily placed in charge of Miss Louisa Parsons but very soon Miss Isabel Hampton was called from the Illinois Training School in Chicago to be made Superintendent of Nurses.

The Johns Hopkins Medical Society was organized and held weekly meetings and a Journal Club was started for the discussion of recent medical literature. A little later the Historical Club was established, monthly meetings of which were held. Graduate courses of instruction for physicians were offered, courses in pathology and bacteriology being given by Welch, Councilman and Abbott, in medicine (in the wards and in the out-patient department) by Osler, in surgery by Halsted, in gynecology by Kelly, in psychiatry by Hurd, and in hygiene by Billings and Abbott.

Hospital publications were also immediately begun. The first number of the *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* is dated December, 1889. It contains a brief account of the hospital and of the opening of the Nurses' Home as well as scientific articles on the cause of hog cholera (by Welch) and on the organisms de-

scribed by Laveran as the cause of malaria (by Osler). It is interesting that to the *Bulletin* of February, 1890, Billings contributed an article on rare medical books, a subject on which he had become an authority as Librarian of the Surgeon-General's Library. As early as May, 1890, Osler was writing on the *Amoeba coli* as a cause of dysentery and of abscess of the liver. In addition to the *Bulletin*, the hospital published volumes of *Reports*. The first volume of these *Reports* was published in 1890 and was numbered Vol. II, as Vol. I which was supposed to precede it was to contain studies from the pathological laboratory. Those who knew Dr. Welch well and were acquainted with the dilatoriness of habits that great man sometimes exhibited were amused to find that Vol. I did not appear until 1897! It contained a number of researches that had been carried out by Mall in Welch's laboratory, some experimental studies by Halsted on the thyroid gland and reports of unusual diseases of the skin by Gilchrist.

My own personal experience at the Johns Hopkins Hospital began in the autumn of 1891. My friend Dr. Thomas S. Cullen and I had, after graduation at the University of Toronto Medical School, spent a year as internes in the Toronto General Hospital. While we were there both Osler and Kelly visited Toronto and on one occasion Kelly performed in that hospital one of his brilliant operations, Cullen acting as one of his assistants while I gave the anaesthetic to the patient. We were both so impressed with Dr. Osler and Dr. Kelly that we decided to seek the opportunity of working with them at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Cullen wrote to Kelly and was made an assistant on the resident gynecological staff. I was not immediately so fortunate as there was no vacancy on Dr. Osler's resident staff. In reply to my application he suggested that I accept for the summer the residency at the Garrett Hospital for Sick Children at Mt. Airy, Md., and that in the autumn I could attend his ward visits at Johns Hopkins. I did so and enjoyed watching Osler work so greatly that I was sad-hearted when my money ran out except for about enough to pay the return railway fare to Canada. But, just at this juncture, Dr. Osler sent for me and told me that Dr. William T. Howard, who was to have had a place on his staff, could not take it and that therefore I could be one of his assistant resident physicians. I was, of course, overjoyed, entered the Hospital, and lived within it, in one position or another, for the next nine years.

It may be of interest to record some of my impressions of those who were working in the Hospital in the nineties. The "big four" were of course Welch, Osler, Halsted and Kelly. Their features have been permanently preserved in the celebrated portrait by Sargent that now hangs in the Welch Library at the Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Dr. Welch when I first knew him was 41 years old. Even then he was inclined to be obese, for he was of the rather short thickset round-faced type that is constitutionally predisposed to become too heavy and he had the genial nature ("good-mixer type") that goes with that kind of constitution. By the younger members of the staff he was familiarly and affectionately spoken of as "Popsy" Welch. He had been profoundly influenced by his graduate studies in German universities and brought back to this country many of the German methods and ideals. His interests were in the promotion of the science of medicine, and he was destined to be most influential in this through the development of investigators, on the one hand, and, on the other, by inducing wealthy men like John D. Rockefeller and Henry Phipps or their representatives to make large gifts for medical education and research. He was patient in the accomplishment of what he set out to do and was a master in the art of diplomacy that led others to accept his opinions. One of the men who worked on a committee with him during the first World War has spoken of him as "smooth, placid, always the statesman, sometimes almost to the point of being a politician; the great professional manager of quiet tread, and always with great influence." As Pathologist to the Hospital he was succeeded in 1917 by the present incumbent, one of his former pupils, Dr. William G. MacCallum. An excellent account of Dr. Welch's life and work is to be found in the recent biography of him written by Dr. Simon Flexner and his son James (*William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine,* 1941).

Dr. Osler, whose parents (partly Anglo-Saxon, partly Celtic), had migrated from Cornwall to Canada, was of very different physical type. He was more slender in appearance and of dark complexion, with rather sparse hair but with a heavy mustache and a lively countenance. He was always immaculately dressed in English style; at consultations he usually wore a frock coat and top hat and drove to them in hansom cabs.

He had been well trained in medicine in Montreal, had worked for a long period at histology and pathology with Burdon-Sanderson in England and had been greatly impressed with the English system of teaching clinical medicine in which the essential feature was that the ward work was done by the students themselves. In his teaching later in Montreal, in Philadelphia and in Baltimore he applied what he had learned of British, French and German medicine.

The way Dr. Osler, or "the Chief," as everyone called him, went about the organization of his clinic in Baltimore has been well told by his first assistant, Dr. H. A. Lafleur. He had the opportunity "to blaze a perfectly new road, untrammeled by tradition, vested interests or medical 'dead wood'—best of all, backed by a board of management imbued with a fundamental and abiding respect for scientific opinion and commanding an ample budget."

We youngsters were fascinated by Osler's clinical teaching and by his generosity to his assistants, for he often gave credit to younger men for work that really belonged to himself. Dr. Osler had a good 'brain' but he had even a larger 'heart' and we were greatly impressed by his humanity and the appeal that he made to our sensibilities. It was the personality of Osler—his elusive and difficultly definable qualities—that made him so beloved. As one of his patients said of him: "As he passed about, gallant and debonair, with a whimsical wit that left the air sweet and gay, with an epigram here and a paradox there, tickling the ribs of his colleagues, none felt him frivolous."

He set an example of systematic steady work. When I entered the Hospital, I was assigned a bed-room next to his and I could with relative safety set my watch at 10 P. M. each night when I heard him place his boots on the floor outside his bed-room door. He was at that time writing the textbook *The Principles and Practices of Medicine*.[2] He rose at 7 A. M. From 8 A. M. to 1 P. M. on three mornings each week he dictated to his secretary, Miss Blanche Humpton; after lunch he made rounds in the private wards and saw special cases in the public wards, and then

[2] This book was read by Mr. F. T. Gates, a member of John D. Rockefeller's philanthropic staff and the frank disclosure by Dr. Osler of the narrow limitations of ascertained truth in medicine led later to the establishment of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research.

revised what his secretary had written. After 5 P. M. he saw cases in consultation with other physicians in the city, dined at the club at 6.30, and was in bed by 10. The textbook written at that time has had an enormous sale, going through a great many editions during his life time and more of them after his death (revised by Dr. Thomas McCrae).

Dr. Osler took a great interest in the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and its library (with Miss Marcia Noyes at its head), engaged in the fight against typhoid fever and tuberculosis in Maryland, and did many other public spirited things for the city and State. But I must not talk too long about this great man who was said to be, at the time of his death " probably the greatest figure in the medical world." Some of you who are present knew him personally and others doubtless have read Harvey Cushing's delightful biography, *The Life of Sir William Osler* (1925).

Dr. William S. Halsted, three years younger than Dr. Osler, was known to us as " the Professor." He had very high ideals of research and made important contributions to surgical knowledge and technique. I recall his introduction of rubber gloves to be worn at operations, his insistence upon the delicate handling of tissues, upon the control of hemorrhage and upon strict asepsis, his research work on the thyroid gland, and his operation for the radical cure of hernia. He was a modest retiring type of man who did not mix easily with people he did not know well. One of the Mayo brothers spoke, with admiration, of this " shy unapproachable perfectionist " and Dr. Alexis Carrel referred to him as " the greatest surgical thinker America has produced." Dr. W. G. MacCallum has written a brief account of his life and work in the volume entitled: *William Stewart Halsted: Surgeon* (1930).

Dr. Howard A. Kelly, brought to Johns Hopkins from Philadelphia (and nicknamed the " Kensington Colt "), was placed in charge of Gynecology and Obstetrics, though later on, in 1899, the latter subject became independent and was placed in charge if Dr. John Whitridge Williams, a very able man who, unfortunately, was fated to die all too soon (see the volume by Dr. J. M. Slemmons entitled *John Whitridge Williams: Academic Aspects and Bibliography*). Kelly was the youngest of the " big

four," being 6 years younger than Halsted. He is the only one of the four still living.[3] I had a pleasant note from him a short time ago on the 84th anniversary of his birthday. Kelly's surgical technique has been greatly praised both for its precision and speed; two well-known Chicago surgeons spoke of him as " the greatest surgical technician of his time." Always a very religious man, Dr. Kelly has been interested also in political reforms and in anti-vice crusades. I recall that in the nineties—I think about 1895—a number of Johns Hopkins men under Dr. Kelly's leadership undertook as a reform party to police the polls at the Marsh Market (17th Ward) in order to prevent the packing of the ballot box by unscrupulous voters. Though a fight ensued, the grip of the political ring was broken. The event inspired Dr. Osler (under the pseudonym of Edgerton Y. Davis) to write a humorous poem entitled " The Marsh Market."

Dr. William T. Councilman, who stood next to Dr. Welch in the pathological laboratory, lived in the Hospital at this time. He was a most amusing person, who stuttered a little but had command of a choice line of expletives that he made use of freely in conversation. I recall, one hot summer day, walking into the laboratory where I found Councilman peering through a microscope, his bald head covered with a huge sheet of sticky fly-paper as a protection from flies! He left Baltimore early to become Professor of Pathology at Harvard. He died in 1933 at the age of 79.

Dr. John M. T. Finney came to John Hopkins from Harvard. He did not live in the Hospital but at once became Dr. Halsted's right-hand man in the Department of Surgery, taking charge of the surgical work in the dispensary and later becoming a leading surgeon in Baltimore. In the world war he was Chief Surgical Consultant to the American Expeditionary Force and, as you all know, is still living as Emeritus Professor and as one of the most highly-esteemed citizens of Baltimore.[4] His autobiography (*A Surgeon's Life: The Autobiography of J. M. T. Finney*), published in 1940, is an engaging volume; doubtless many of you have already read it.

Dr. William Sydney Thayer, another Harvard man, lived within

[3] Dr. Kelly's death occurred on January 12, 1943.
[4] Dr. Finney died May 30, 1942.

the Hospital for several years, and (after Lafleur) became Resident Physician for Dr. Osler. He had worked with Ehrlich and others in Germany and on his return stimulated studies of the blood by Ehrlich's methods. He became one of the most distinguished internists in America, was Chief Medical Consultant to the A. E. F. in France, and was for a time (1919-1921) Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins and Physician-in-Chief to the Hospital. After his death, his friend Mrs. Harry Fielding Reid wrote a brief but excellent biography of him entitled *The Life and Convictions of William Sydney Thayer* (1936).

In the Out-Patient Department, several practitioners of the town collaborated. Thus, Drs. Samuel Theobald and Robert L. Randolph had charge of ophthalmology, Dr. William D. Booker was pediatrician, Dr. James Brown was urologist, Dr. Henry M. Thomas was neurologist, Dr. H. J. Berkley was psychiatrist, Dr. Caspar Gilchrist and Dr. J. Williams Lord were dermatologists, and Drs. Mackenzie, Warfield and Gamble had charge of the nose and throat department. Joseph Hopkins, a relative of the founder, had clerical supervision in the dispensary. All these men have since died except Dr. Cary B. Gamble who is still well and active as a successful internist in this city.

Living in the Hospital in the early nineties in addition to Lafleur (who later went to Montreal and became Professor of Medicine at McGill), and to Simon Flexner (who later became head of the Rockefeller Institute in New York), were Dr. George Blumer (who was to have a distinguished career in hygiene, pathology and internal medicine and is now Emeritus Professor at Yale), Dr. Joseph Bloodgood (who later became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins and Surgeon-in-Chief to St. Agnes Hospital, noted before his death as an authority on cancer), Dr. John Billings (son of the great librarian), Dr. Thomas S. Cullen (who wrote important volumes on surgical subjects and later succeeded Dr. Kelly as Professor of Gynecology and is now Emeritus Professor), Dr. John G. Clark (who was made Professor of Gynecology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1899), Dr. John Hewetson (much beloved by all but fated to die early from tuberculosis), Dr. James F. Mitchell (who became Clinical Professor of Surgery in George Washington University and is still active as Chief Surgeon at the Emergency Hospital in Wash-

ington, D. C.), Dr. Rupert Norton (a close friend of mine, a son of Charles Eliot Norton, who served as Assistant Superintendent of the Hospital for some seven years); Dr. Harold Parsons (who later entered practice in Toronto), Dr. Hunter Robb (who soon became Professor of Gynecology in Cleveland and who married our Superintendent of Nurses, Miss Hampton), Dr. W. W. Russell (who did excellent work in gynecology before his death from tuberculosis) and Dr. Frank R. Smith (an excellent English scholar who was helpful to those of us who wrote medical papers as he revised them for us, would not let us split our infinitives nor permit us to say that anything "centered around" anything else). Among the others who lived in the Hospital in those early days I remember A. A. Ghriskey, W. H. Baltzell, August Hoch, Harry Toulmin and Chauncey Smith.

In the corridors of the Hospital during the early years, I knew every nurse and every physician and could call each by name—so different from today when, owing to the enormous growth of the Hospital and its staff, I see many whose names I do not know at all. We were, in the early period, a small group in which seniors and juniors lived intimately together. We worked hard but we also knew how to play, and in the evenings many of us spent an hour or so over beer and pretzels at Hanselmann's (close to the pathological laboratory). Life was very congenial and the Hopkins men were spoken of as "a mutual admiration society." Certainly there was great happiness among us. One wonders if similar conditions can ever really exist again!

The Medical School, thanks to the gift of Miss Mary Garrett (advised by Miss M. Carey Thomas) was opened in 1893. It was a condition of her gift that women should be admitted on equal terms with men and that all students should, preliminary to admission, have the degree of Bachelor of Arts or of Science, have had training in physics, chemistry and biology, and possess a reading knowledge of French and German.

The Heads of the Clinics at once became the Professors in the clinical subjects in the Medical School. Important men were chosen as professors in the preclinical branches—F. P. Mall (Anatomy), W. H. Howell (Physiology), and J. J. Abel (Pharmacology). Dr. Welch was, of course, Professor of Pathology and the first Dean of the School.

John S. Billings had, years earlier, stated that the School, when it became established was " to aim at quality and not quantity " and that each of its graduates should not only be a well educated physician but also one who had learned to think and to be able to do original investigation of problems that were still unsolved. Billings had estimated that if the graduate of the School took a hospital interneship and after that two years in travel and special studies he would be about twenty-eight years old when really ready to begin work and his education during the preceding eleven years would have cost him about $8,000.00.

The new Medical School represented a sharp departure from former methods of medical education. From the beginning it was a success and it was not long before educators elsewhere realized that medical schools all over the country needed thoroughgoing reforms. The graduates of the Johns Hopkins Medical School were so outstanding that many of them were chosen for teaching positions elsewhere.

The first class at the Medical School contained three women students. At the end of the first year one of them became engaged to marry Dr. Mall and Dr. Osler gleefully wrote that since 33⅓% of the lady students of the first class were to be married at the end of one short session, it was understandable why he regarded co-education as a failure. Later on, much to his chagrin, another 33⅓% of these women espoused Christian Science—only one of the women continuing in orthodox medicine!

Flexner became associate in pathology and Mall took me as his associate to teach histology. At Mall's suggestion, I went to Leipzig for post-graduate work in 1895, doing a piece of research in Ludwig's laboratory under Professor von Frey and attending lectures given by Professor His on embryology, by Professor Flechsig on brain anatomy, and by Professor Wundt on psychology. Hewetson, who went with me to Leipzig, worked with Professor Spalteholz and prepared some beautiful sections of the brain stem. Unfortunately, he developed tuberculosis and had to give up his medical work. He presented his sections of the brain to me and on return to Baltimore I used them in my classes in histology. Among my students at that time was Miss Gertrude Stein and I have often wondered whether or not my attempts to teach her the course of the fibre tracts in the brain had anything to do with the peculiar style of writing that she later developed!

In 1899, President Gilman sent Flexner and me to the Philippine Islands as a commission to study tropical diseases. We were accompanied by two of the medical students (J. M. Flint and F. P. Gay) and by Mr. John W. Garrett. This was a fruitful experience as Flexner discovered in Manila the type of bacillus of dysentery that bears his name and we became well acquainted with a whole series of tropical diseases. On the way to Manila we visited some of the leading medical scientists in Japan and Hong Kong, and on the return voyage Flint and I went across British India where in Bombay and especially in Poona we saw a great deal of bubonic plague. This knowledge was helpful to me later when, with Dr. Flexner and Dr. Novy, I was sent by our Federal Government to determine the existence or non-existence of plague in San Francisco (1901).

During the nineties, the heads of the Hospital departments attracted many excellent men either as assistants or as research workers. Thus to Welch's department came Dr. George H. F. Nuttall (later hygienist of Cambridge, England), Dr. Walter Reed (who with Dr. Carroll and Dr. Lazear were later to solve the riddle of yellow fever in Cuba), Dr. Eugene L. Opie (well known for his work on hemochromatosis and on the histology of the islands of Langerhans in the pancreas from which insulin was later to be obtained) and Dr. W. G. MacCallum (who in 1897 made the important discovery of the part played by the free flagella in the process of fecundation of malarial parasites).

To Dr. Osler's department in the nineties a large group of eager young men were attracted, including, besides those already mentioned, Dr. Thomas B. Futcher (who took charge of the clinical laboratory), Dr. Thomas McCrae (who later on became Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania), Dr. Thomas R. Brown (who later became Associate Professor of Medicine and the gastroenterologist of the Hospital), Dr. C. N. B. Camac (who was to become a Professor of Medicine in New York City), Dr. J. Hall Pleasants (now one of the University trustees here), Dr. J. H. Mason Knox (so well known in this State in connection with child-welfare), Dr. Louis P. Hamburger (one of Baltimore's best known practitioners), Dr. Walter R. Steiner (who became an outstanding physician in Hartford, Connecticut), Dr. Henry M. Christian (who later became Hersey

Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard and Physician-in-Chief to the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital), Dr. Thomas R. Boggs (who became Associate Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins and Physician-in-Chief to the City Hospital at Bay View), Dr. Warfield T. Longcope (who was to have a distinguished career in pathology and internal medicine in Philadelphia and in New York and in 1922 was appointed to the chair at Johns Hopkins that Dr. Osler himself had held), and Dr. Louis V. Hamman (now one of Baltimore's most active consulting internists as well as Associate Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins).

To Dr. Halsted's department, equally important men were drawn. Among them, besides those already mentioned, I would refer especially to Dr. Harvey Cushing (who was to become one of the world's most skilful brain surgeons and was made Professor of Surgery at Harvard), Dr. F. H. Baetjer (who became roentgenologist to the hospital and was one of the first martyrs to that specialty), Dr. George Walker (who was to be so helpful to Dr. Finney in France during the World War), Dr. Richard H. Follis (who became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Hugh Young (who was to become Professor of Urology and head of the Brady Clinic at Johns Hopkins and who last year wrote an autobiography that many of you have read), Dr. John Staige Davis (who developed especial skill as a plastic surgeon and became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Harvey B. Stone (who became a Visiting Surgeon (Rectal) at Johns Hopkins), Dr. George Heuer (who has had a distinguished career in surgery in Cincinnati and in New York City), Dr. S. J. Crowe (who became head of the Nose and Throat Department), Dr. William S. Baer and Dr. George Bennett (who became Visiting Orthopedic Surgeons), and Dr. Walter E. Dandy (who has attained to professorial rank and is now in my opinion the greatest brain surgeon in the world). In addition to those mentioned, the excellent work of Dr. H. Hayward Streett, Dr. Louis D. Coriell, Dr. B. Lucien Brun and others in the department of Dental Surgery should not be overlooked.

To Dr. Kelly's department besides the men I have already referred to there were many others who came and have attained distinction. Among these I may mention especially Dr. Guy L.

Hunner (who has done important work in gynecology and in urology and is Adjunct Professor Emeritus in the department), Dr. Curtis F. Burnam (whose work with radium in the treatment of cancer and other conditions is outstanding and who has also become Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Edward H. Richardson (who was to become Associate Professor of Gynecology at Johns Hopkins), and Dr. Dewitt B. Casler (who was to become one of the visiting Gynecologists to the hospital and Associate in Gynecology). The present incumbent of the chair of Gynecology (Dr. R. W. TeLinde) was a student in the Medical School when Dr. Kelly became emeritus professor. It was Dr. Kelly who brought to his department the brilliant medical illustrator, the late Max Broedel (from Germany) and thus led later on to the establishment of the department of " Art Applied to Medicine."

The training School for Nurses under Miss Hampton and Miss Nutting (and later under Miss Lawler) set up very high standards not only of nursing education but also of personal qualification of students. That these personal qualities did not pass unnoticed by the medical staff is shown by the number of the latter who married nurses; I recounted some twenty instances, recently, of physicians and surgeons at Johns Hopkins who had chosen nurses as their wives.

The work at the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School during its early years made a profound impression not only in this country but throughout the world. There were some, of course, who were critical, maintaining that too much attention was paid to the cultivation of science. " Make doctors," they said; " don't try to make scientists." Such criticism revealed profound ignorance of what is really meant by the science of medicine and the use of the scientific method. For it is not enough to teach what is known of practical clinical work; it is also important to imbue medical students with the desire to solve problems of the unknown. Besides collecting facts by keen observation of patients, it is necessary to try to establish relations among the facts observed and to explain them by the process of reasoning. Hypotheses are formed regarding the meaning of the facts and these hypotheses are then subjected to the test of experiment. It is an endless chain—observation, reflection, hypothesis, experiment and then more observation.

Medical men who have made use of the method of science have greatly enlarged our methods of observation, for we are no longer dependent upon our naked sense organs. Our eyes are implemented by the microscope, the ophthalmoscope, the cystoscope and the bronchoscope, and our ears by the stethoscope. By means of the X-ray we can visualize the inside of the body (the heart, the lungs, the stomach and intestines, the bones and joints, and even the cavities of the brain). By means of electrocardiograms we can study very precisely the rate and rhythm of the heart beats, the conduction-apparatus within the heart upon which they depend, as well as evidence of changes in the heart muscle itself. Studies in the clinical laboratories reveal any existing abnormalities of the blood, the sputum, the stomach-juice, the faeces, and the cerebrospinal fluid. Determinations of the basal metabolic rate tell us of the rate of oxidation in the body and throw light upon the activity of the thyroid gland. Bacteriological studies demonstrate the causes of existing infectious diseases and point to the remedies that are likely to be efficacious. Autopsies made in the pathological laboratory are often revelatory of errors in clinical diagnosis and compel us to make ever more careful studies of our patients.

Advances in the treatment of disease are continually being made by the application of the same method of science. The older treatment by drugs gradually led to important discoveries—the use of opium and its derivatives for the relief of pain, the use of quinine in malaria, and the use of mercury and iodide of potassium in syphilis. But in recent years methods of treatment have been enormously advanced through the use of vaccines and immune sera in the infectious diseases, through the administration of hormones in diseases of the glands of internal secretion, through the application of the newer surgical methods and technique, and through the use of radium and X-ray in certain malignant diseases. Most astounding perhaps has been the discovery of certain magic bullets that can be shot into the body (by hypodermic or by intravenous injection) to kill off certain parasitic invaders. Beginning with Ehrlich's discovery of salvarsan (arsphenamine) for the treatment of syphilis, later years have seen a great extension of chemotherapeutic methods. I need only refer to the sulfonamide compounds—sulfanilamide, sulfapyridine, sulfathiazole,

sulfadiazine, and others—in which Dr. Perrin Long and Miss Eleanor Bliss at the Johns Hopkins Hospital have been so interested. Streptococcal, staphylococcal, pneumococcal, gonococcal, and meningococcal infections are cured by them as if by magic. Those of us who in the old days watched pneumonia patients gasping for breath for days, a large percentage of them dying within a week or so, are now astounded to find them at the end of 24 or 48 hours sitting up in bed, declaring that they are well and asking if they may go home! That the treatment of wounds and burns is also being revolutionized through the use of these sulfonamide drugs has recently been made clear by experiences at Pearl Harbor.

Those who in the early days at Johns Hopkins stood firmly for scientific medicine would be happy if they could return to the hospital today and see the justification of the attitude they took. The battle for the application of the method of science to medicine and for the training of students in the way that was followed by our teachers here has been won. Indeed, all the great medical schools and hospitals of the country now vie with one another not only in teaching their students the best practical methods of diagnosis and treatment but also in the inculcation of the spirit of original research. At one time the Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins Medical School were unique in this country; they no longer stand alone for there are many institutions that are equally good now and in some respects better. For the reforms that have been made, Johns Hopkins set the example, but great credit is also due to Abraham Flexner of the Carnegie Institution who scathingly and devastatingly assailed the faulty conditions that existed elsewhere, as well as to the representatives of Rockefeller, Carnegie and other wealthy men who provided funds to bring about the changes that were desirable.

A few of us who were at the Johns Hopkins in the nineties are still living and we are glad that we could watch the fruitful work of our great masters who were the leaders at the time not only in medical science and in the medical art but also in medical education. It was our leaders who insisted upon preserving and utilizing all that was good in the medical knowledge of the past, but who also established workshops in which new wisdom was to be gained. Our clinics and laboratories were not merely institutes of

instruction; they were also important centres of original research. Those of us who were trained at the Johns Hopkins Hospital were inspired by our teachers with ideals of culture, of scholarship and of social service. Those teachers were exemplars of untiring work, of endless investigation and of a consuming thirst for truth. We are more than thankful to them; we cherish them affectionately in memory!

"Quinn" or "Sweet Air," from an early photograph now in the possession of Mrs. Duncan McCulloch, Sr.

The date of this picture is believed to be about 1850. The trees appear to be over 100 years old. The dwelling now stands without the west wing (at right).

"SWEET AIR" OR "QUINN," BALTIMORE COUNTY [1]

By Ronald T. Abercrombie, M. D.

The name "Sweet Air" carried a long cherished memory among the old timers of Baltimore County, till recent research revealed the fact that this place was originally patented as "Quinn" in 1704. This being discovered, the State Roads Commission erected a historical marker at the driveway on the Paper Mill Road, reading:

> "Quinn" 500 acres, (later called "Sweet Air"). Granted 1704 to Thomas Macnemara. Charles and Daniel Carroll, his "kinsmen" acquired it under a mortgage and sold it to Roger Boyce 1751, who built the house. Purchased for Henry Hill Carroll 1785, who lived and died here 1804. His son Henry Carroll sold it in 1838.

The marker describes one of the earliest homesteads in this part of Baltimore County. In 1937, when the writer acquired the property, there were the remains of a gem of a small brick dwelling, and a very dilapidated farm. It was found that the brick structure with its many coats of paint was ancient and had evidently gone through many changes. A careful investigation was begun, and from the results of the research, an attempt was made toward the restoration of the dwelling to its original state, and the facts of its history recorded.

This beautiful colonial house, which for well over a century has borne the charming name "Sweet Air," stands in the extreme east central part of Baltimore County. While it is best known in the tradition of the county as at one time the home of Henry Hill Carroll (who died there in 1804), and of his son Henry Carroll (born 1796 at "Sweet Air" and died 1877), yet both the ancient

[1] The author desires to make gracious acknowledgment for the facts and historical background to Mrs. Duncan McCulloch, Sr., Mrs. Spawhawk Jones, descendants of Henry Hill Carroll; Mrs. Esther Morrison Ward, and Mr. J. Alexis Shriver. It is through the Rev. Clayton Torrence's interest and research that this history is so far completed. The advice and services of the able architect, Mr. Bayard Turnbull, are responsible for the excellent restoration and for the present description of the house. The results of the cooperation of these two gentlemen are embodied here, and full credit is given them for their excellent work. To Mr. William B. Banks the author is indebted for the excellent pen and ink drawings.

dwelling house and the land upon which it stands are interestingly traceable to earlier dates.[2]

The so-called "Sweet Air" house stands upon a portion of ground which was part of a tract of land that bears the patent name of "Quinn," while the farm which belongs to it was made up of portions of "Quinn," "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect."

Towards the close of the seventeenth, or the very beginning of the eighteenth century, there appeared in Maryland one Thomas Macnemara, evidently a native of Ireland, a lawyer of no mean ability, a staunch, if not devout, Roman Catholic, and a man who possessed ample capacity for involving himself in conflict with the governmental authorities of the Province. He and his wife, Margaret, were called "kinsman" and "kinswoman" in the will of Charles Carroll, of Anne Arundel County, who died in 1720, though the degree of this relationship is not disclosed. It was probably due to this family connection that the Macnemaras came to Maryland.

Thomas and Margaret Macnemara made their home in Annapolis, and there it appears that Mr. Macnemara engaged in the practice of law. As early as 1709 his tempestuous and contemptuous nature brought him into conflict with the authorities, and he was forbidden to practice as an attorney.

In October, 1709, he was petitioning the Assembly for restoration to his profession. During the sessions of the General Assembly from 1714 to 1716 we find him occupying the office of Clerk of the Lower House of Assembly, and in May, 1717, there is a considerable amount of information relative to his conflict with Governor John Hart. It appears that Charles Carroll and Thomas Macnemara had made bitter complaint to the authorities in England relative to Governor Hart's governmental policy. Carroll and Macnemara seem to have taken grave offence at Hart's method of dealing with Roman Catholics, and did not hesitate to complain thereof. Governor Hart in referring to this matter in his address to the General Assembly in April, 1718, did not mince words in speaking his mind about these gentlemen.

In referring to Macnemara he says:

[2] This paragraph and the succeeding ones setting forth data from the court records are from Mr. Torrence's report.

You know the gentleman and his conversation; you are not ignorant what disturbances he has given this government for almost as many years as he has been on it.

However, this disturbing gentleman was soon removed in the course of natural events, for we find that he had died prior to October, 1719.

Among his other interests it appears that Thomas Macnemara was engaged in planting, and had taken out patents for several extensive tracts of land, among them the tract called " Quinn " (500 acres) in Baltimore County. It is not improbable that Macnemara started improvements on this land, as among the inventories of his estate there are items listed as " goods at his quarter in Baltimore County."

Thomas Macnemara died intestate, and his lands passed to his son Michael Macnemara. It appears that the Macnemaras became heavily indebted to their kinsmen, Daniel and Charles Carroll (sons of the elder Charles Carroll), and in 1730 Michael Macnemara and his mother, Margaret Macnemara, relict and administratrix of Thomas Macnemara, mortgaged their extensive properties to these Carrolls. In course of time, the mortgage not having been paid, the " Quinn " tract (which appears among the lands so mortgaged) was sold in 1751 by Charles Carroll (acting in behalf of his own interests, and also as executor of the will of his deceased brother, Daniel Carroll) and Michael Macnemara, to Roger Boyce, and thus " Quinn " passed from the possession of the Macnemaras. The tract brought £250 sterling, a not inconsiderable sum, which leads to the belief that the 500 acres in the " Quinn " tract were valuable lands.

Roger Boyce, the purchaser of " Quinn," had come to Baltimore County from Calvert County prior to 1747, for in that year he appears as sheriff of Baltimore County, and as also holding this office in 1748-1749, and again from 1758-1760. He appears also as a justice of the peace for Baltimore County 1752-1757, and in 1761; and as a vestryman of St. John's Parish 1751-1753, and as a warden thereof in 1764.

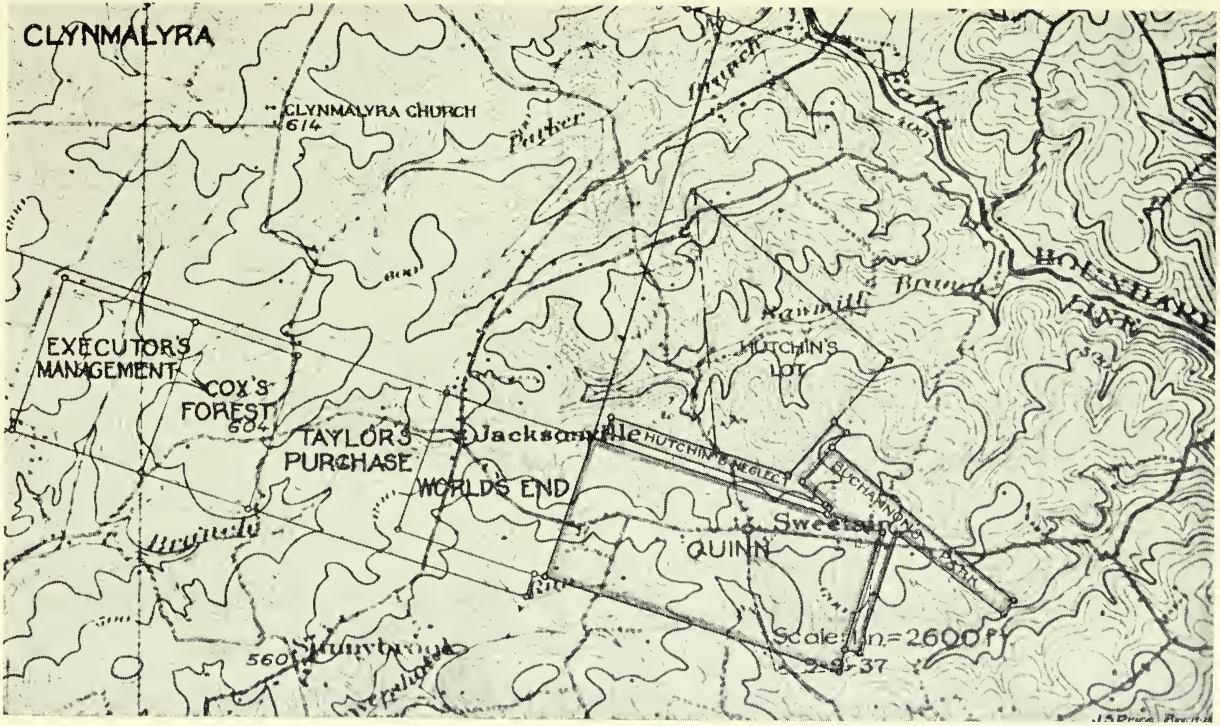
Roger Boyce married Rebecca, daughter of Richard and Eleanor (Addison) Smith, of Calvert County, a lady of distinguished lineage and connections. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce's mother, Mrs. Eleanor (Addison) Smith, was four times married: first to Ben-

nett Lowe; second to Richard Smith; third to Posthumous Thornton; while her fourth husband (whom she married in 1754) was Corbin Lee, who came to Baltimore County where he built the well known " Perry Hall " just off the present Bel Air-Baltimore highway.

Roger Boyce died in 1772, leaving his wife Rebecca, and a family of eight young children: (1) Benjamin; (2) Roger, Junior; (3) John; (4) Rebecca; (5) Eleanor; (6) Elizabeth; (7) Mary; (8) Ann. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce and her step-father, Corbin Lee, were named executors of Roger Boyce's will. This instrument proves that Boyce's " *dwelling plantation* " was on the tract of land called " Quinn." This " *dwelling plantation* " together with the whole of " Quinn " and " all the houses and conveniences to said tract appertaining " he devised to his wife Rebecca, " during her natural life," and after her death to his eldest son, Benjamin Boyce. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce's will was dated November 25, 1774, was probated January 19, 1775.

It is most interesting to note that Roger Boyce erected a dwelling house of not inconsiderable proportions on his " dwelling plantation " on the tract called " Quinn." In his mind's eye the reader may almost reconstruct the old house with the aid of an inventory of Boyce's estate, which was made March 2, 1774. This document names " the Chamber over the Inner Room," " the Passage Chamber," " the Passage Upstairs," " the Hall Chamber," " The Hall," " The Passage " (probably downstairs), " Mrs. Boyce's Room," " The Brick Passage," " the Old Hall," " the Back Room," " the Kitchen," " the Quarter," and " the Cellar." (For the interesting household furnishings see the inventory given later.)

We can not state positively that the house, rooms of which are noted in Roger Boyce's inventory, is that known today as the " Sweet Air " house, which certainly stands on a portion of the " Quinn " tract; though it is not improbable that the house which was Roger Boyce's dwelling, or certainly parts of it, are included in the house now standing and called " Sweet Air." It may also be true that the house erected by Roger Boyce, which was his dwelling house, contained parts of an older building. Of these matters we cannot make positive statement; but the suggestion followed out by an authority on historic construction might



Part of Maryland Geological Survey map (enlarged), with plat of "Quinn" and other surveys superimposed. The name "Sweet Air" here indicates the present village near the "Sweet Air" mansion.

develop some positive proof. That Roger Boyce's dwelling house (as described by rooms, halls and passages in his inventory) stood on the tract of land called " Quinn " is proved by his will; while the deeds in the title to the tract now owned by Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie and called " Sweet Air " clearly prove, from the deed of Benjamin Boyce (who inherited the dwelling plantation on " Quinn ") to Ignatius Fenwick in 1785, conveying " Quinn," down to the present owners, the inclusion of the dwelling house tract. (Abstracts of these deeds are appended.)

In May, 1785, Benjamin Boyce sold " Quinn " and its buildings to Ignatius Fenwick, and in April, 1789, also sold to Fenwick the tracts of " Hutchins' Lot " and part of " Hutchins' Neglect," which adjoined " Quinn," and which had also been devised to Benjamin Boyce by his father.

Fenwick, who was the " guardian of the heir of Charles Carroll, Junior," of " Duddington," bought these lands evidently for his ward, and we find him re-conveying them (for the very nominal sum of 10 shillings) to Henry Hill Carroll, who was the son of Charles Carroll, Junior, of " Duddington." In March, 1788, Fenwick conveyed " Quinn " (500 acres) to Henry Hill Carroll and in October, 1789, he conveyed to him " Hutchins' Lot " and " Hutchins' Neglect " (the former certified for 266½ acres, the latter for 30 acres); the three tracts totaling 796½ acres. Mr. Carroll made this plantation his home; married Sarah Rogers, and continued his country residence here until his death in 1804. Besides this estate (made up of the tracts of land called " Quinn," " Hutchins' Lot " and " Hutchins' Neglect ") which evidently was purchased for him as a " home place " by his guardian, Captain Ignatius Fenwick, Henry Hill Carroll was possessed (under his father, Charles Carroll, Junior, of " Duddington's " will) of the extensive estate of " Clynmalira " (5,000 acres), also called " Carroll's Manor." This estate joined his dwelling plantation.

The annals of few families disclose the apparent deep respect, quiet, strong devotion, and implicit trust between brothers which is found exisiting between Henry Hill Carroll and his brother Daniel Carroll, the two sons of Charles Carroll, Junior (1729-1773) of " Duddington," and Mary Hill, his wife. They were only very young boys at the time of their father's death, but the

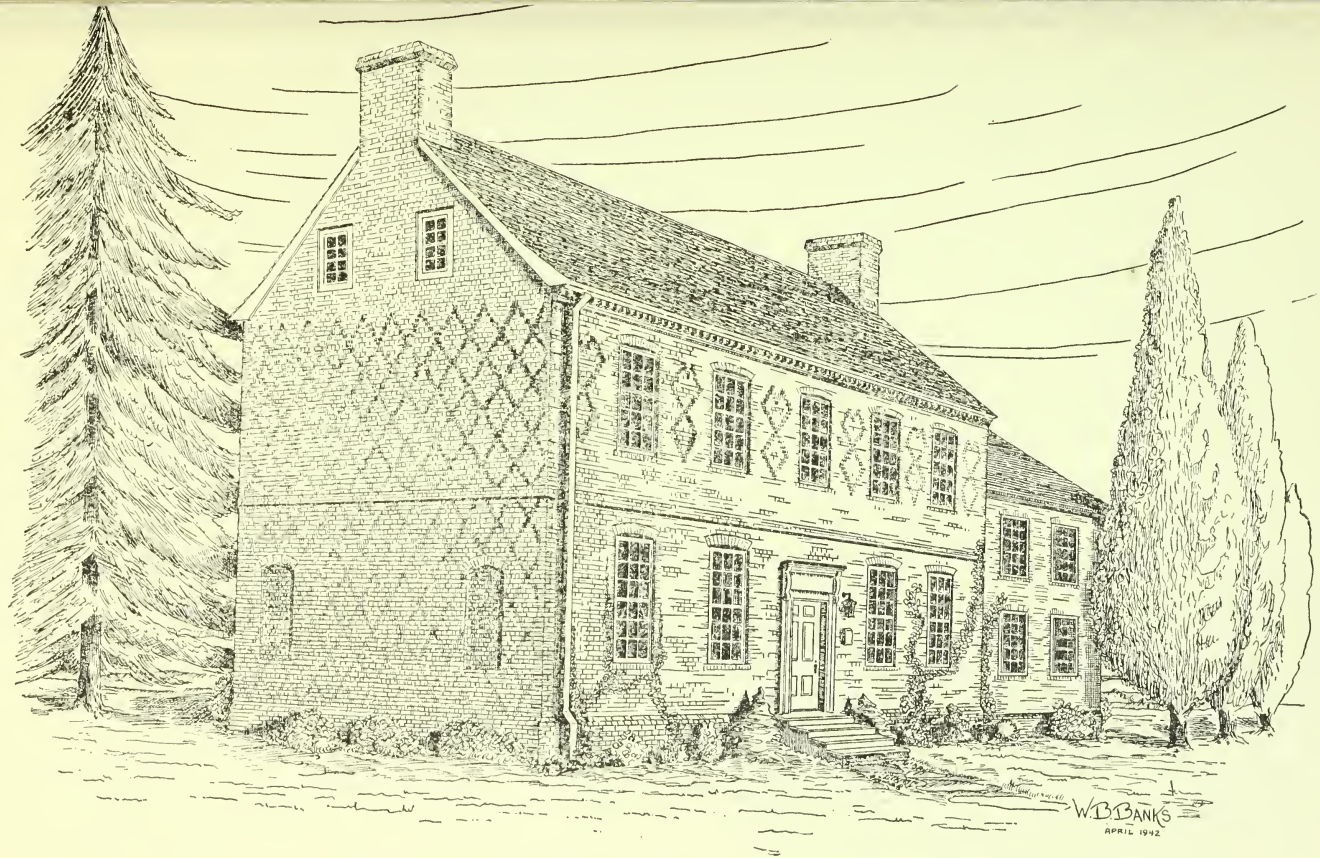
years apparently brought them ever nearer to each other in regard and tender affection. Daniel Carroll (1764-1849) outlived his brother by many years, becoming the builder of "Duddington Manor," which was within the limits of the present Washington City. Henry Hill Carroll died in 1804, leaving a handsome estate. Eventually his dwelling plantation of 796½ acres in Baltimore County, including the tract called "Quinn" with its dwelling house, became the property of his son, Henry Carroll.

It is evident that Henry Hill Carroll (who died in 1804), made his residence in the house on the "Quinn" tract which had formerly been the residence of Roger Boyce, though we cannot say that Carroll did not make additions thereto, and alterations in the original building. Such questions can only be determined, in the absence of direct evidence, by the investigations of architectural authorities.

Coming into possession of this estate with its dwelling house, Henry Carroll continued to make his residence here while developing the "Clynmalira" estate, which he also inherited. In later years, having built a mansion on "Clynmalira," he moved to that place, and in May, 1838, sold 209 acres out of the 796½ acre plantation, with the dwelling house, to the Morrison family. From the Morrisons, through various conveyances, the present tract of 137 acres, with the "Sweet Air" house, has come into the possession of Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie.

In regard to the name "Sweet Air" by which this plantation and its dwelling house have been known for over a century, it is impossible to say when and how it originated. It is quite evident, however, from memoranda of births and marriages in the Carroll family, that the name "Sweet Air" had been given the place as early as 1812, for in February of that year it is recorded that Mary Ann Carroll, daughter of Henry Hill Carroll and Sarah Rogers, was married at "Sweet Air," to her first cousin, Charles Carroll, son of Daniel Carroll and Anne Brent, his first wife.

The first and, as a matter of fact, the only appearance of the name "Sweet Air" so far discovered in records of transfer of this estate appears in July, 1852, when Mrs. Eliza Morrison, his widow, and other heirs of the late Reverend George Morrison, deceased, conveyed 59 acres out of the 209 acre portion of the plantation which had, in 1838, been conveyed to them by Henry



"Quinn" or "Sweet Air" dwelling house as it now stands as seen from the south-west. The brick work has been restored after removing coats of paint.

Drawing by William B. Banks.

Carroll. The conveyance states that the land conveyed is " that portion of the place known as ' Sweet Air '."

For the restoration of the old dwelling the services of an architect experienced in this type of reconstruction were secured. Credit for the present restored condition must be given to Mr. Bayard Turnbull. He studied well the known facts about the building and put it as nearly as possible in its earlier state, at the same time adding modern conveniences that interfere little with its former appearance.

The original part of the house consisted apparently of a rectangular building, two stories, 53 feet by 22 feet, as the band course at the second floor level runs around the four walls and shows now on the inside of the second floor (east) kitchen wing. This east wing was probably added later. The water table is continuous on the other three sides. This kitchen as late as 1898 had a famous old " Indian " fireplace as related by Mrs. Ward. There was no west wing in 1798, for in the Particular Tax List of Baltimore County in the name of Henry Hill Carroll on October 1, 1798, only " one brick wing one story high 22 ft. square in good repair " is recorded. (This must have been the east wing.) " A kitchen of brick 16 ft. square, 1 story " is mentioned and classed with a group of 5 outhouses, including one Quarter of logs 40 x 20 ft., one story; one meat house of logs 12 x 14 ft.; one poultry house 16 x 12 ft.; one stone Spring House 12 x 12 ft., and one Piazza 8 x 53 ft., two stories. This porch was not restored for as yet no definite picture of it has come to hand. Reference is made to a brick cabbage house in an advertisement in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* September 10, 1782.

There is now under the floor of a machine shed an underground brick cellar, rectangular in shape, 8 x 14 ft., with a one-layer brick arched ceiling, which is just under the ground line, and a dirt floor. The bricks in the construction appear to be of the same make and time as those in the main house. This may be the cabbage house referred to. It makes a good root storage house now. It may be noted that this property was deeded by Benjamin Boyce to Ignatius Fenwick in May, 1785, and by him to Henry Hill Carroll in March, 1788; more of this later.

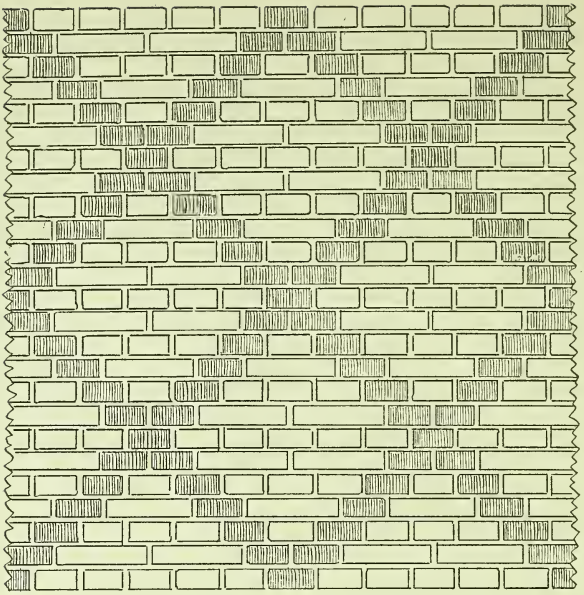
A west wing was added sometime later, probably by Mr. Car-

roll, but there is only the record of the photograph to show it, and the statement of Mrs. Ward that this west wing was entered only from the outside. There are evident markings on the west gable end of the main house, where the roof of the one-story wing conjoined with this wall. Nothing has been found as yet by digging and careful search of any foundation or other evidence. This wing was evidently the office.

The Quarter house referred to in the tax list of 1798, made of logs, in size 40 x 20 ft., was refitted by the Reverend George Morrison, and used by him for the Clerical Academy which he founded and conducted there. His son, the Rev. George Morrison (II), well known Presbyterian clergyman, was born at "Sweet Air" in 1831, and died there on August 28, 1898. He reestablished this academy founded by his father, and conducted it for two years till he was elected principal of the Baltimore City College. Upon retiring he lived at "Sweet Air" till his death. His daughter, Mrs. Ward, states that "the house, a fine old mansion, was erected by Charles and Daniel Carroll nearly two centuries ago, is surrounded by a beautiful lawn laid out after the style of the grounds of freeholders during the feudal system." On the south of this dwelling, there is now evidence of what was a garden of three terraces reaching 150 ft. where, centered with the doorway of the house at the distal end of the lower terrace, are still standing two old English box trees in fair state of preservation—they seem to be at least 150 to 200 years old.

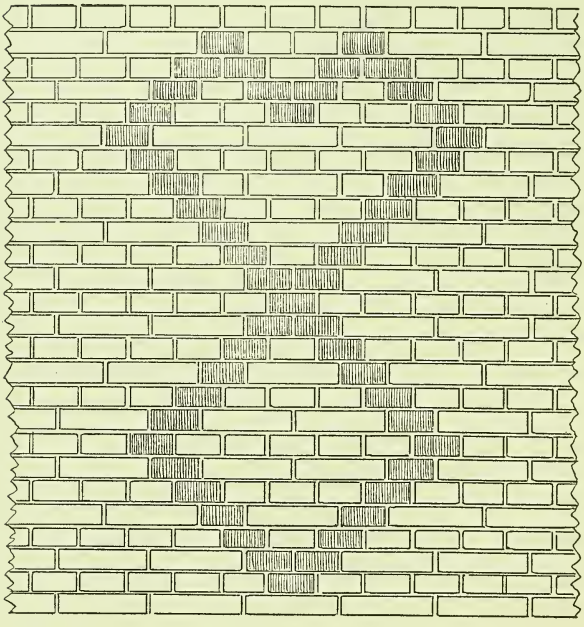
Mr. Turnbull, in describing the structure as it was and what he did in the restoration, states that it is one of two houses on the Western Shore of Maryland erected in the early days with pattern brick. The bricks were made locally and the wood used in the building was cut from the woodland on the place.

The outside walls of unusually large brick, laid in Flemish bond, have a very agreeable texture. The brick vary in size sometimes as much as an inch in length and 1/4 inch in other directions; the average size, however, is 2 1/8 x 4 x 8 1/2 ins. The window arches are of smaller ground brick, lighter in color. There is an interesting continuous diamond pattern of dark headers on the west gable end, and a modified figure-of-eight pattern running across the south front in the second story as shown by the drawing of this feature.



Detail of the continuous diamond pattern on the west gable end made by black brick headers.

Drawing by William B. Banks.



Detail of the modified figure of eight pattern across the second story south front. The brick work was restored principally by removing coats of paint.

Drawing by William B. Banks.

There is a moulded brick water table all around (Avolo and Scotia), and a band course at the second floor level, a soldier course of over-burnt headers between avolo red brick top and bottom. The only cellar the house has is under the dining room and staircase where there is a pair of deep arched recesses of brick, separated by an 18 in. pier under the dining room chimney breast.

It has been said that the early American builders gave more thought to permanence of construction than we. However, as is the case in this house, they carried down the outside wall foundations under the drawing room and main hall but 16 ins. below grade. This caused cracks and settling of the walls and necessitated under-pinning of much of the foundations to prevent further injury to the walls. The chimneys were made fireproof.

The east and west main gable ends are faced with bardge boards having an outward flare at the bottom. The main cornice is of interesting detail with dentil moulding at the bottom and a course of delicately profiled modillions carrying the crown members. The effect of this unusual cornice, as seen in the old photograph, is that of a lace border drawn across the house.

The cornice of the gable or pediment over the north front porch, is heavier than the horizontal cornice, does not member with it, and has no dentils or modillions. This, combined with the stiffness of the pediment and its rather large wheel window, tend to give it a somewhat ungrammatical flavor; but such departure from classical dogma and Vignola's rules, give the front a certain quaintness and charm.

The north porch is new, designed in attenuated Colonial Doric in the spirit of the old house; the triglyphs of the frieze giving an appropriate accent to the entrance. The steps and border of the porch floor, all with moulded nosings, are composed of marble steps taken from a block of old houses formerly on Saratoga Street and lately demolished. Their mellowness merges with the old brick of the walls.

In the south entrance doorway treatment, the consoles, console bands, frieze and cornice are new, while the architrave (with croisettes) and the six panel door are original. The steps and platform are from the same Saratoga Street house as those of the north porch. Originally there was a two story rather shallow (8 feet) porch of square pillars, running across the south front

of the main building, whose roof must have tied in with the main house roof, though at a different pitch, but sufficient information to reconstruct it accurately is lacking.

Photographs exist showing the house with east and west wings. The east wing was a story and a half with dormer windows and a fine heavy chimney, traces of which showed both outside and in. The previous owner raised the height of this wing to full two stories, to gain more space in the upper story. The north cornice was apparently re-used, but the south cornice had disappeared and the present one was duplicated from the north front.

The west wing, smaller and lower than the east wing and without dormers, has disappeared. There is not even a trace of the foundations. This wing probably contained a single room which might have been the office. In the first story west wall of the main building, are two blind windows. One shows a 4-inch sinkage or recess closed with burnt headers. The other has been bricked up in such a way as to suggest that it might have been an opening from the living room.

From the photograph one can see that these two wings of unequal mass, added grace and dignity to the lines of the building.

The drawing room chimney breast is flanked with elliptical arched recesses of wooden trim. The key blocks and pilaster caps lend interest, and in combination with the decorative mantel design, contribute to the character of this handsome and friendly room.

The drawing room mantel has fluted pilasters, running through the frieze, the shelf and its supporting mouldings breaking over them. They likewise break over a central raised panel which is decorated with eleven flutes filled with rope ornament, and carrying twelve " guttae " or drops. On either side of this decorated panel are two plain panels. There is an interesting fretted dentil moulding under the shelf, and the face of the member just below the shelf, is decorated with a running ornament of alternating flutings and quartrefoils.

The dining room mantel is new, similar to the original one in the drawing room but in smaller scale and designed for a different sized fireplace opening. Of an interesting and simpler type is the mantel in the bedroom over the dining room, with its plain frieze curving inward to meet a cornice with dentil band.

STAIRWAY AT "SWEET AIR"

Showing newell post and fine wood carving detail.
The door leads to the dining room.

The main first floor doorways are trimmed with banded architrave with "croisettes" or dog ears at the head, and carrying a fluted frieze and cornice with fret-work dentil band, all of very individual detail.

Of unusual flavor is the main hall and drawing room chair-rail. Delicate in detail, 4 inches high overall, it consists of rudimentary Doric triglyphs spaced 4 inches apart between upper and lower running mouldings. In the dining room is a simpler but effective chair rail.

The main staircase is a feature of the house. To be noted are the wide rail, the turned balusters, the rather austere newels with unusual head treatment, and more elaborate stair end brackets, but particularly interesting are the varied treatments of the chair rail easings up the stair walls in combination with fluted pilasters. In the attic hallway there are ardl slats in place of the turned balusters. The planners of this staircase did not trouble to see to it that there was head room up in the attic, for those who do not duck will bump their heads against the roof slope.

Throughout the main portions of the house the windows have inside wooden shutters with raised panels, flush moulded, folding into splayed window recesses. These shuttered window recesses contribute greatly to the character of the interior. The size of the principal panes of glass is 9 x 10½ ins. and the main windows, 6 feet high and 30 ins. wide, with 18 panes. The first floor ceiling is 14 ft.

The doors are six-panel, with lock rail, raised panels, flush moulded on one side and flat panel without mouldings on the other. The flooring is random width. In the attic the boards are very wide and many are tapering; typical would be a board 12 inches wide at one end and 15 inches at the other and about 12 feet long.

A few of the original square brick tiles were found in the hearths, and this type was followed in the restoration of the work. A good deal of the original hardware is still in place, including such items as wrought iron case locks on a number of the doors, some with small solid brass knobs, a few of them oval shaped. The two case locks on the first story main entrance doors are good examples of the larger types. A number of the doors have cast iron gravity self closing hinges; two have wrought-iron strap hinges and thumb latch, and one, H-and-L hinges and thumb

latch. Some of the closets have the old wooden pins and pin-rails. The main brick walls of the house are 16 inches thick.

The dwelling is now occupied by the writer's daughter, Katharine Gordon, and her husband, Lieut. McCord Sollenberger.

ADDENDA

The facts recited relative to Thomas Macnemara are from the *Archives of Maryland*, Vols. XXVII, XXIX, XXX and XXXIII; the deeds (of which abstracts are appended), and the will of Mrs. Margaret Macnemara (who died in 1738) from the *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, VIII, 10.

The facts relative to Roger Boyce and his wife, Rebecca Smith, are from the records of Baltimore County, notes in the files of papers of the Harford County Historical Society and the Smith genealogy published in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III, 66-73; and the deed and will records of Baltimore County (see abstracts appended).

The facts relative to the Carrolls are from the deed and will records of Baltimore County (see abstracts appended); the Carroll family notes and charts in the Wilson Miles Cary Papers in the Maryland Historical Society; and items of family history given by Mrs. Duncan McCulloch, Senior, of Glencoe, Baltimore County, Maryland, a great-granddaughter of Henry Hill Carroll.

Abstract of Title

"Quinn" was the original grant of the property which included "Sweet Air" as we know it today, as the following record shows: "*Quinn*," 1704, granted Thomas Macnamara; 500 acres in Baltimore County at head of Gunpowder River, called "Quin." (Land Office, Annapolis, Liber P. L. # 2, folios 25-26).

Thomas Macnemara died intestate; in his estate inventories, appraised 26th October, 1719, and 24 Aug., 1720, there are appraisements of personalty at his "*quarter*" *in Baltimore County*. (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Inventories, Liber IV, folios 100 and 197).

Macnemara owned several large tracts in Baltimore County, and it is not improbable that he maintained a "quarter" on the "Quinn" tract.

This property was included in a mortgage on May 12, 1730, to Charles and Daniel Carroll, of Annapolis. By default at its expiration, May 20, 1733, the brothers Carroll became owners of "Quinn." Other properties adjoining present "Sweet Air" were taken over under this forfeiture by the Carrolls, including "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect," and these were all included in the transfer of "Quinn" to Roger Boyce, Sept. 25, 1751. (Hall of Records, Baltimore County Deeds, Liber T. R. No. D, folios 208-210. Also Deed Liber B., No. G, folio 86).

Roger Boyce erected a home at "Quinn" and by his will dated Sept. 16, 1766, and a codicil dated Aug. 20, 1767, and proved March 20 and May 4, 1772, provided for his young family through his wife and Corbin

Lee as trustees. At the death of Mrs. Boyce " Quinn " was devised to his son Benjamin and his heirs. (Baltimore County Wills, Liber # 3, folios 205-8).

When Benjamin Boyce came into possession of these lands he had a commission appointed to establish the actual boundaries of his lands. The report was filed Aug. 5, 1785, and is recorded. (Hall of Records, Deed Liber W. G. No. X, folios 129-132).

On May 11, 1785, Benjamin Boyce conveyed " Quinn," and on April 7, 1789, conveyed " Hutchins' Lot " and " Hutchins' Neglect " to Ignatius Fenwick. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. W, folios 247-8 and W. G. No. D. D., folios 291-2).

On March 19, 1788, Fenwick conveyed " Quinn " for 5 shillings to Henry Hill Carroll, and on October 7, 1787, conveyed the rest of his property for 5 shillings to Henry Hill Carroll. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. D. D., folios 722-724).

It is apparent from the very small financial consideration, *5 shillings*, named in each of the deeds by which Ignatius Fenwick conveyed to Henry Hill Carroll the three tracts, " Quinn " (500 acres), " *Hutchings' Lott* " (266½ acres) and " Hutchins' Neglect " (30 acres) totaling 796½ acres, that the lands had been purchased by Fenwick for Carroll. The explanation of this seems to lie in the fact that " Ignatius Fenwick was guardian to the heir of Charles Carroll, of Duddington." As such Fenwick asked in 1785 for a commission to re-establish the boundaries of the tract called " Clynmalira," in Baltimore County. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. X, folio 113).

It appears from the will of Charles Carroll, Junior, of Duddington, dated March 12, 1768, probated March 23, 1773, that he devised to his son Henry Hill Carroll, among other lands, a tract of 5,000 acres, called " *Clynmalira,*" in the Fork of Gunpowder, Baltimore County. (Hall of Records, Wills, Liber 39, folio 461).

Henry Hill Carroll came to live on the plantation made up of the tracts " *Quinn,*" " *Hutching's Lot* " and " *Hutching's Neglect* " and this dwelling plantation he directed, his executors to sell.

His will, dated Oct. 13, 1804, proved Nov. 7, 1804, devised to his son Henry Carroll, the tract " Clynmalira " (generally known as " Carroll's Manor ") containing 5000 acres, in Baltimore County; also improved square in city of Washington; and " my undivided property (with my brother Daniel Carroll) in 2 lots in said city on which are built two, three story Brick houses "; and to his daughter Mary Ann Carroll, two adjoining tracts in the Garrison Forest, Baltimore County, called " Eli O'Carroll " and " Litterluna," containing 3000 acres; also two unimproved lots in city of Washington.

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, SEPTEMBER 10, 1782:

To be sold. A valuable tract containing 833 acres lying in Baltimore County, on the Fork of Gunpowder River, 18 miles from Baltimore Town, with an elegant brick house, 2 stories high, having a full cellar under it,

a brick office adjoining, a good kitchen, and all other houses convenient for a farm, a pailed garden with a brick cabbage house therein, etc. . . . 3 apple orchards, [etc.].

Benjamin Boyce

Advertisement in the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, March 11, 1783:

To be sold on the second day of April next . . . valuable tract of land . . . 847 acres in the Fork of Gunpowder about 17 miles from Baltimore Town . . .

The improvements are, an elegant Brick House, two stories high, with two large rooms and a passage on the lower floor, and three rooms and a passage above stairs, and a cellar under the whole; a brick office adjoining the house, kitchen, store-house with cellar, and quarters; a large garden and yard paled in, a spring-house over the Spring within a few yards of the dwelling house—three apple orchards, as good fruit as any in the State, from which may be made annually five or six thousand gallons of cider—and all other kind of fruit.—Any person desirous of viewing the premises will be shown them and the conditions for payments of the money made known by applying to

Benjamin Boyce.

N. B. Four or five years credit will be given for the greater part of the money for which the above mentioned place will sell.

(From Boyce Family Notes by Anne Spotswood Dandridge, Vol. 1, 1703. Courtesy of Mrs. Heyward E. Boyce).

Particular Tax List, Baltimore County, Gunpowder Upper Hundred, October 1, 1798.

Henry Hill Carroll

1 Brick dwelling House, two stories high
53 by 22 ft. in good repair and well furnished
1 Piazza 8–53—two stories
1 Brick wing 1 story high 22 ft. square, in good repair
1 Kitchen of Brick 16 ft. square, 1 story
1 Quarter House of logs 40 x 20, 1 story high
1 Meat House 12–14 ft.
1 Poultry House 16–12 ft.
1 Stone Spring House 12–12.

Number of Houses admitted to be subject to valuation:

1 Dwelling House
5 Out Houses
2 Acres of land on lots valued herewith
} $2500

Inventory of Roger Boyce (Abridged) Taken 2nd March, 1774

To his wearing apparel,	£ 5: 0:0
To the bed best curtains and furniture *in the Chamber over the Inner Room,*	£ 16: 0:0
to another bed *in the same room* and furniture,	£ 10: 0:0

3 old chairs and one old trunk *in same room*		£ 1: 0:0
1 Dressing table and glass in do.		£ 5: 0:0
1 pair *Cast Dogs* in do.		0: 8:0
1 small bed *in the passage Chamber,*		£ 6: 0:0
1 small desk *in the passage upstairs,*		£ 1:10:0
1 bed *in the Hall Chamber* with curtains bedstead and furniture,		£ 14: 0:0
1 old Low Bedstead and comd. in do.		0: 7:0
1 Red trunk 20/ one Black do. in do. 10/		£ 1:10:0
4 old Chaves (chairs?) 22/ and a close stool do/ 25/)		
In *the same room* with a pan 3/		£ 2:10:0
To 1 pair Small Dogs Broke with a fire shovel *in the same room,*		0: 5:0

In the Hall.

2 square Mahogany tables,		£ 8: 0:0
2 card tables		6: 0:0
1 Desk and Book Case with glass doors,		£ 12: 0:0
1 tea table,		2: 0:0
2 Arm and 10 small Chairs Mahogany frames & hair bottoms,		12: 0:0
2 glasses,		6: 0:0
1 Floor Carpett,		1:15:0
1 pair hand irons brass fender 1 old shovel and tongs,		£ 2:10:0

In the Passage.

1 large Walnut Oval Table,		£ 1:10:0
1 old Oak ditto		0:10:0
4 old Chairs in Do.		1: 0:0

In Mrs. Boyce's Room.

1 Desk and bookcase,	£8: 0:0	
1 Mahogany Desk,	4: 0:0	
1 old Oval Table,	0: 3:0	
5 old Leather Chairs and 4 other rush bottom do.	1:10:0	
1 bedstead curtains bedstead and furniture		10: 0:0
1 small trundle bed and furniture,		3: 0:0
1 pr. handirons brass shovel and 2 pr. tongs,		2:12:0
1 large glass,		5: 0:0

In the Brick Passage.

To 1 still	£ 3: 0:0
3 teakettles,	1: 0:0
1 copper plate Warmer, hominy pan Stew kettle and Copper Int. Pot,	2: 0:0
1 pr. Old Scales and 2 wts. and a pr. of old Stillards	0:10:0
1 Chaffing Dish and Bed pans,	0:10:0
To a parcel of Pails, piggins and churn,	0:10:0
Half a dozen candle moulds,	0: 6:0

In the Old Hall.

2 Beds and furniture,	£ 10: 0:0
3 old tables and 8 old chairs,	1:10:0
11 brass candlesticks and 3 tin do.	2: 0:0
1 Check (?) Red and 2 other Do.	0: 7:0
2 Linnen Wheels,	1: 0:0
1 pr. Cast Doggs five fork bread toaster and shovel and tongs,	1: 5:0

In the Back Room.

1 pr. cast dogs, Bedstead Cord and furniture and old table,	1:10:0

In the Kitchen.

2 Water Dishes and 7 Water plates,	1:10:0
9 Good pewter dishes,	2: 0:0
6 old Pewter do. small,	1: 4:0

2 doz. good pewter plates, 1 doz. plain 1 doz. with cyphons	3: 0:0
2–½ doz. old pewter flat plates,	2: 0:0
A parcel of old pewter and tinware,	1:10:0
a Copper kettle, 20 odd gall°	4: 0:0
4 iron pott hooks,	2: 0:0
3 pewter wine measures,	0:10:0
4 pott Tramells,	1: 0:0
2 frying pans ladle and skimer and 2 iron spitts and 1 dripping pan,	
2 old bell mettle skillets, 2 old chocolate potts, 1 old sauce pan, spice morter and pestle,	1:10:0
parcel of old tubs and wooden ware,	0: 5:0
3 handirons tongs and shovel,	1: 4:0

In the Quarter, in the Cellar, in the Smith's Shop, were various items of general utility, such as were used about a plantation, and household utensils.

Of stock, there were many hogs, cows, steers, heifers, a bull, 11 horses; there was harness inventory, and " 1 old chaise and harness £3:0:0."

Of Negroes, there were 12 listed, male and female, from 11 to 48 years of age.

Bar iron, steel, Indian corn, wheat, 24 sheep.

Books:

1 Family Bible, old
3 other Books.

Silver:	oz.	dar (?)	gr.	
17 spoons	33	14	0	
1 soup do.	5	14	22	
10 teaspoons and tongs	5	15	10	
1 good pint can	13	16	16	
1 old Bmised Can	9	19	10	
1 Waiter	14	5	16	
2 Salts	5	5	21	
1 Cream Pott	2	12	4	
1 Round cup	2	17	10	
1 Teapott	17	9	23	
1 pepper box	2	13	0	
	113 :	14 :	12	@ 8 pr. oz. £45:9:9

China Various Pieces.

(From Baltimore County Inventories, Vol. 11, folios 176-178.)

Additional Sources.

Proof of the relationship of the Macnemaras to Charles Carroll is found in his will dated Dec. 1, 1718, proved July 28, 1720. (Annapolis Wills, Liber 16, folio 176 and Provincial Court Records Liber P. L. No. 6, folio 426, June 10, 1730).

Will of George Morrison, Dec. 31, 1896, probated Sept. 5, 1898 (Baltimore County, Liber No. 11, folio 287).

Record of deed, Nov. 16, 1899, Morrison to Seiler (N. B. M. 243, folio 42).

Record of deed, June 23, 1937, Seiler to Abercrombie (Land Record 1003, page 412-13).

Record of deed, Dec. 31, 1938, dwelling and 25 acres, Abercrombie to Sollenberger.

READING AND OTHER RECREATIONS OF MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

To present a more rounded picture of the lives of colonial planters, merchants and professional men and to show their reading interests in better perspective, a brief discussion of some of their recreations is desirable.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate the time a colonist spent in reading in comparison with his other activities. The recently published diaries of William Byrd afford us our best insight into the everyday life of a colonial planter but our interpretation of the interesting data they contain must be tempered by the realization that Byrd was by no means an average planter.[1] The fact that each morning before breakfast he regularly read Greek and and Latin authors in the original does not mean that his fellow planters found the same enjoyment in the classics or even that they spent a comparable proportion of their time reading.

On the contrary, the evidence of contemporary observers shows that most of William Byrd's neighbors were keenly interested in convivial pleasures. The Rev. Hugh Jones, who was fully qualified by his long residence in Virginia to know the character of the people, wrote in 1724:

> The Common Planters leading easy Lives don't much admire Labour, or any manly Exercise, except Horse-Racing, nor Diversion, except Cock-Fighting, in which some greatly delight. This easy way of Living, and the Heat of the Summer makes some very lazy, who are then said to be Climate-struck.[2]

This description of planters of the tobacco colony is substantiated by the observations of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby when he visited the Southern colonies in 1759. He wrote:

> The climate and external appearance of the country conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good natured; extremely fond of society, and much given to convivial pleasures.[3]

[1] William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712,* and *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741* (Richmond, 1941 and 1942).

[2] Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (London, 1724), p. 48.

[3] Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* (London, 1798), p. 25.

To be sure, Burnaby admitted in a footnote that this broad assertion was subject to many exceptions and Hugh Jones made a similar qualification when he restricted his statement to "the common planters."

A few years before the Revolution William Eddis wrote a friend in England that he could find little difference between a wealthy Marylander and his equal in England. After expressing his astonishment at the rapid importation of fashions from the mother country, he added:

> Whatever you have heard relative to the rigid puritanical principles and economical habits of our American brethren, is by no means true when applied to the inhabitants of the southern provinces. Liberality of sentiment, and genuine hospitality are every where prevalent. . . .[4]

The Rev. John Entick gives an attractive description of the social habits of Marylanders at the close of the colonial period:

> An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in *Maryland* amongst all Ranks of People, and at set times nothing but Jollity and Feasting goes forward. Musick and Dancing are the everlasting Delights of the Lads and Lasses, and some very odd Customs they have at those Merry-makings; you would think all care was then thrown aside, and that every Misfortune was buried in Oblivion.[5]

Nearly every settlement of any size had its small tavern, particularly those on the highway between Philadelphia and Williamsburg. Here the traveler could get accommodations for himself and his horse, and in the evening the tavern served as a social gathering place. Ebenezer Cooke has described a scene in an Annapolis tavern while the Assembly was in session.

> This said, resolv'd to t'other Dose,
> To Tavern steer'd an Oblique Course:
> Which standing almost within Hollow [Halloo],
> I did his drunken Worship follow;
> Seem'd by his reeling thro' the Street,
> To be much founder'd in his Feet.
> So reach'd the Bacchanalian Mansion,
> Before the Host had gave him Sanction.
> And meeting with young Politicians,
> Dull antiquated State Physicians;
> Replenishing their thirsty Souls
> With Lemon Punch, in flowing Bowls.

---

[4] William Eddis, *Letters From America* (London, 1792), p. 112.
[5] John Entick, *Present State of the British Empire* (London, 1774), IV, 438.

Not waiting long for Invitation;
At Fire Side took up my Station;
As others did; were grown profuse,
Inspir'd by the potent Juice,
On the Proceedings of that Day,
Whilst some at Dice pass'd Time away . . .[6]

Card playing was also a common entertainment in the taverns and in private homes. Packs of cards are frequently listed in inventories of estates and in merchants' invoices of the times.

Dancing was a favorite pastime, an organized dancing assembly being held several times a year at Annapolis and occasionally in some other communities. In 1763 a lottery was held to raise money for building a ballroom in Annapolis. Announcements of dances and of dancing teachers are not infrequent in the columns of the *Maryland Gazette.* Eddis remarked that the young people of Annapolis celebrated every possible holiday by dancing:

Besides our regular assemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the patron Saint of each parent dominion; St. George, St. Andrw, St. Patrick, and St. David, are celebrated with every partial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and splendid.[7]

Horse racing was an equally popular entertainment in the Southern colonies.[8] Horses were, of course, a necessity in the fields as well as a means of transportation. Nearly every planter had at least one and by 1692, they had become so plentiful that an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly, "Restraining the unreasonable Increase of Horses in this Province."[9] Hugh Jones wrote:

They are such Lovers of Riding, that almost every ordinary Person keeps a Horse; and I have known some spend the Morning in ranging several Miles in the Woods to find and catch their Horses only to ride two or three Miles to Church, to Court-House, or to a Horse-Race, where they generally appoint to meet upon Business; and are more certain of finding those that they want to speak or deal with, than at their Home.[10]

Governor Ogle brought over with him from England a thor-

[6] Ebenezer Cooke, *Sotweed Redivivus* (Annapolis, 1730), B. C. Steiner, *Early Maryland Poetry* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 41.
[7] Eddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.
[8] Francis B. Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922).
[9] Thomas Bacon, ed., *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1692, Chapter LXXX.
[10] Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

oughbred horse, *Spark,* which had been given to Lord Baltimore by the father of George III. Later he imported a mare called *Queen Mab.* Governor Sharpe owned a fine black race horse which he called *Othello.* Wealthy planters from the adjoining colonies brought their prize horses to the Maryland races. One of the best known horses from Virginia was *Tom Jones,* bred for Colonel John Tayloe from a horse of the same name belonging to Sir Marmaduke Beckworth.[11] The earliest and one of the finest pieces of Maryland plate known was presented as a prize for a horse race.

Races were held in the spring and fall and were usually followed by dances or performances at the theatre. In November, 1771, Eddis wrote:

> Our races, which are just concluded continued four days and afforded excellent amusement to those who are attached to the pleasures of the turf; and, surprizing as it may appear, I assure you there are few meetings in England better attended, or where more capital horses are exhibited.[12]

In the evening, after the Annapolis races were over, the sportsmen and their families gathered at the theatre to enjoy the entertainments given by the Old American Company.[13] The earliest recorded theatrical performance in Annapolis was in 1750. In 1760 a theatre was built and the following performances were presented that season: [14]

ANNAPOLIS THEATRE—SPRING, 1760

DAY	DATE	PLAYS (*two each evening*)	
Monday	March 2	Orphan	Lethe
Thursday	March 6	Recruiting Officer	Miss in Her Teens
Saturday	March 8	Venice Preserv'd	Mock Doctor
Monday	March 10	Richard III	King and the Miller
Thursday	March 13	Provok'd Husband	Stage Coach
Saturday	March 15	Fair Penetent	Anatomist
Monday		(?)	(?)
Thursday	March 20	Stratagm	Lethe
Saturday	March 22	London Merchant	Lying Valet
Monday	March 24	Busy Body	Mock Doctor
Thursday	March 27	Revenge	Lying Valet

[11] *Maryland Gazette,* May 3, 1764.
[12] Eddis, *op. cit.,* p. 106.
[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 107, 108.
[14] From announcements in *Maryland Gazette.* There is reason to believe that this list is incomplete because during April and May the weekly paper which was issued on Thursday advertised only that evening's performance. Probably handbills were distributed announcing the other performances.

DAY	DATE	PLAYS (*two each evening*)	
Saturday	March 29	Bold Stroke for a Wife (Recess for Easter Holidays)	Damon and Philida
Monday	April 7	Othello	Wonder Honest Yorkshireman
Thursday	April 10	Constant Couple	King and the Miller
Thursday	April 17	Provok'd Husband, or a Journey to London.	(Masons of Annapolis walked in procession in the costumes of their order. Mrs. Douglas spoke a Masonic Epilogue.)
Thursday	April 24	Constant Couple	Honest Yorkshireman
Thursday	May 1	Douglass	Virgin Unmask'd
Thursday	May 8	"Comedy altered from Shakespeare by Lord Lansdown called The Jew of Venice, or, the Female Lawyer"	Lethe
Monday	May 12	Gamester (this was the last performance of the season)	

The Old American Company also performed in Chester Town and Upper Marlborough and went on an annual circuit from Williamsburg to Philadelphia and occasionally to New York. In 1772 the first recorded performance was given in Baltimore.[15]

A new theatre building was erected at Annapolis in 1771 with the help of subscriptions from Governor Eden and other interested citizens. When Eddis left England to take office in Maryland, he felt that he was leaving behind him all opportunities for cultural recreations:

> My pleasure and my surprise were therefore excited in proportion, on finding performers in this country equal, at least, to those who sustain the best of the first characters in your most celebrated provincial stages.[16]

The planters were learning how to enjoy life through sports and cultural entertainments. The frontier line had passed beyond the first range of mountains by the end of the colonial period and a class of relatively prosperous planters, merchants and professional men living in the tidewater region had created for themselves a society modeled upon that in the mother country. Gradually the crudeness of pioneer life became less apparent and those who had inherited or earned fortunes began to learn the difficult art of enjoying and profiting from their leisure. Thus,

[15] J. T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, partially unpublished thesis, p. 125. The best history of the early American theatre is George C. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1888-9). There is no available history of the early Maryland stage.

[16] Eddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

the characteristics of that Southern culture which reached its high point during the first half of the nineteenth century may be found in Maryland at the close of the colonial period.

The history of social clubs in the American colonies is a subject on which a full study is needed. The colonial social club was, of course, a close counterpart of the social and literary clubs in the mother country, so well described in *The Spectator.* The sudden and large increase of clubs in London and the other English towns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a phenomenon which has yet to be fully explained by social historians. The rise of the middle class was an important contributing factor in their growth. The Civil War, in addition to helping to liberate the middle class, placed a new emphasis on the necessity of discussion of conflicting opinions. During the Restoration period social clubs and coffee shops became a striking characteristic of English urban society, a characteristic which was to continue through the following century. The anonymous author of *The Coffee-Houses Vindicated* (1675) summed up the social significance of the London club and coffee house when he wrote:

> To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally than here; among such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects according to their respective abilities?

The South River Club, though its date of establishment is unknown, is generally said to be the earliest Maryland club, and, so far as is known, is the oldest social club still in existence in the United States. It was a purely social meeting place where planters from the surrounding district could assemble once or twice a month. Members took turns in providing the dinners, and the minute books of this ancient club supply a record of the dates of the meetings and the names of the persons responsible for the food.[17] There is no record of the topics discussed during dinner or of what went on afterward. There is a brief notice in the *Maryland Gazette* that the South River Club celebrated the victory of the Duke of Cumberland over the Jacobites at the

[17] Photostat from the original records is at Maryland Historical Society.

Battle of Straghallan-Moor in 1746 by drinking toasts and firing salutes from cannon.[18]

The Western Branch Club was an early social club in Prince George's County. The only record of its existence is a deed dated April 30, 1730, by which the managers or trustees received one thousand square feet of land on which their club house was standing.[19]

There was also a club at Chester Town in Kent County as early as 1746. A disgruntled member of this organization turned to Jonas Green, the publisher of the *Maryland Gazette,* for advice, asking especially for a copy of the constitution of the South River Club:

> Mr. Green, I am a Resident in this Town, and a Member of a club here, which hath always been esteem'd and approved of; yet of late, there hath indiscernably crept in amongst us a Medley of disagreeable Members, who rather spoil than improve Conversation . . .
>
> When Clubs (consisting of Knots of Men rightly sorted) meet together, to hear and impart News, communicate Thoughts, and improve one another by Conversation, they pass away their spare Hours agreeably, and to good purposes; but the Intention is wholly frustrated by an *Omne Catherum,* who are neither capable of improving, or being improved.[20]

He wrote that he was credibly informed that there were clubs in almost every county on the Western Shore, "well regulated, and sorted like Birds of a Feather (especially that antient one of *South River.*)" The suggested rules for clubs published many years later in the *Maryland Gazette* on December 26, 1771, would doubtless have answered his query:

RULES FOR CLUBS

1—There shall be no more than Five Members
2—No Wit, or Pretender to Wit shall be admitted
3—No conceited Person shall be admitted
4—The Club shall not sit longer than Two Hours
5—One Hour of the Two shall be spent praising each other
6—The Three First Rules shall be irrevocable

By far the best known of the early Maryland social clubs is "The Ancient and Honourable Tuesday Club," the origin of which the talented secretary in mock-historic vein, traced far back

[18] *Maryland Gazette,* July 22, 1746.
[19] *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XIX (1924), 198-199.
[20] *Maryland Gazette,* March 24, 1747.

into the distant past.[21] Actually, it was organized on May 14, 1745, by eight men living in and around Annapolis who met at the home of Dr. Alexander Hamilton. Meetings were held fortnightly in members' homes and a member was delegated to arrange for the evening meal. The attendance at meetings varied from six to eight, depending upon the number of members in town at the time. Gentlemen from neighboring colonies or from more distant parts of Maryland were invited to the meetings if they happened to be in Annapolis. Many visitors were made honorary members with the privilege of attending meetings whenever they passed through Maryland. Benjamin Franklin was invited to attend a session of the club during his stay in Annapolis in 1753.

In 1748 Jonas Green, the local printer, was made a member and shortly after his election was called upon to deliver a speech in honor of the occasion. He expressed his pleasure in being elected to the society and, with the eyes of a new member, went on to describe the club:

> . . . I have the best reasons in the world to be satisfied with this good society, as I find everything in it that is sociable and agreeable, and besides, I find we eat and drink well, hence must flow good humor, and as a consequence of this we must sleep well,—and the society seems to be settled on so firm a basis, that nothing but death can separate the members of it one from another.[22]

Several years later he was called upon to deliver an oration proving " This Here Club to be a Club." He gave a concise summary of the characteristics of an eighteenth century social club:

> . . . We meet, converse, laugh, talk, smoke, drink, differ, agree, argue, Philosophize, harangue, pun, sing, dance & fiddle together, nay we are really and in fact a Club.[23]

[21] It seems fairly certain that Dr. Hamilton, in his humorous mock-history of the Club, had his tongue in his cheek when he described a series of forerunners of the Tuesday Club, including the Tuesday (or Whin-Bush) Club of Lannerie in Scotland (founded in 1440), the Royalist and Redhouse clubs in Annapolis founded by George Neilson, and the Ugly Club. There is no supporting evidence for the existence of any of these clubs except the fact that a George Neilson was listed among a number of Scottish political prisoners sent to Maryland in 1716. See *Maryland Historical Magazine* I (1906), 59-65. Dr. Charles A. Barker in his *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 56-57, accepts the clubs mentioned by Hamilton as authentic.

[22] Manuscript Minutes of the Tuesday Club at Maryland Historical Society (12 April, 1748).

[23] Manuscript Minutes of Tuesday Club (16 June, 1752).

These descriptions of club life show the evening entertainments of the Tuesday Club. Each member was expected to speak on a subject selected by himself. Typical of the subjects chosen were the following:

Topic	*Speaker*	*Date*
" Omnia Vincit Amor "	William Thornton	1 April 1746
" Cheerfulness "	Samuel Hart	15 April
" Government "	Rev. John Gordon	15 April
" Charity "	Rev. John Hamilton	29 April
" Wisdom "	Charles Cole	8 July
" Clubs "	Dr. Alexander Hamilton	14 May
" Trade and Traffic "	William Cumming	27 May
" Prudence "	Capt. Robert Gordon	10 June

Unfortunately only the titles of the discussions are given in the minute book and there is no way of knowing the exact nature of the talks. The members soon became tired of these formal programs, preferring impromptu discussions and arguments. Frequently they held mock trials of a culprit who had sinned against their constitution or who had not treated Charles Cole, the President, with the proper respect. When the Rev. Thomas Bacon visited the club in his capacity of honorary member there was usually an evening of music. Frequently the group of prominent planters and professional men who made up the membership of this club sat around the fire telling riddles and jokes. On these occasions Jonas Green distinguished himself by his risque stories which were one of the distinctive achievements which helped to win for him the characterization in the Minute Book as " Jonas Green, Poet, Printer, Punster, Purveyor and Punchmaker General." Dr. Hamilton recorded at a meeting in 1753, in the presence of the Rev. James Sterling, who was then visiting in Annapolis, that:

[an] Abundance of learned discourse passed in Club this night Concerning the prodigies of nature in which were told stories of Bulls with two heads, monsters as yet unheard of, of monkeys, salamanders, camelions and Squrrells which sailed over arms of sea with nothing for a barge but a fragment of Bark, and no other sail but a bush tail, spread out to the wind.[24]

The club had its own seal and each member had a silver badge

[24] Manuscript Minutes of the Tuesday Club (21 August, 1753).

cast in London with a special inscription engraved on it. President Cole sat in a specially designed chair which raised him several inches above the level of the common members. On the table, within easy reach of all lay a tobacco box; a picture of one of the meetings was drawn on all four sides and on the top, a Negro's head served as a handle. By far the most interesting object on the table was the Minute Book in which the names of all members present and the proceedings of the evening were carefully recorded by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary. Two volumes of these minutes have been preserved, both containing wash ink sketches of the members.[25] Hamilton's colorful records of these meetings were thoroughly enjoyed by the families and friends of club members. On one occasion the Secretary left the minute book on the table and on returning to the room found that some of the members' wives were busily at work expurgating certain passages of which they did not approve. The minute books were read and reread many years after the club was disbanded. During the Revolution, Frederick Green, a son of Jonas Green, advertised in the newspapers that he had lost or loaned his copy and requested its return. More than one reader of these minutes of the Tuesday Club has gained an entirely new outlook on colonial society in discovering this group of " breeched and powdered Annapolitans " entirely at their ease in an atmosphere filled with tobacco smoke and the fumes of hot Jamaica rum.

Charles Cole, the President of the Tuesday Club, was an Annapolis merchant. Little is known about him except in his role as presiding officer. He suffered grievously from the gout and was often unable to attend meetings in person. In such cases he instructed the Secretary, who was visiting him at the time in the capacity of physician, as to which member was to preside, authorizing him to draw up the necessary letter of appointment. Hamilton protested against having to make out certificates for deputy presidents so frequently and finally persuaded Jonas Green to print a form for that purpose.[26] Although members of the club waged a constant battle to limit the constitutional powers

[25] At the Maryland Historical Society and in Manuscript Division of Library of Congress. The History of the Club written by Dr. Hamilton is in the Johns Hopkins University Library.

[26] Tuesday Club Minutes, 21 March, 1749. Twenty-six copies were printed. No copy is known.

of their President, they held him in high regard for in 1752 they asked Mr. Hesselius, probably John, the son of Gustavus, to paint a full length portrait of him.[27]

When Cole died in 1757, his personal property was worth slightly less than two hundred pounds and he owed money to Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany. Among his possessions were the following: [28]

An old flag	One Tuesday Club Badge 7s6d
Three Old Wigs	One St. George's Cross 10s
A silver Hilted Sword Belt & Cane	One Quarto Bible 10s

A parcel of Books £3

Unfortunately, Jonas Green and the other appraiser did not list the titles in the " parcel of Books " he owned.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton has already been mentioned in a previous article on the reading interests of physicians.[29] In his *Itinerarium* he mentions reading Shakespeare and Fielding during his stay in Philadelphia and attending book auctions while in Boston.[30] As historian and secretary of the Tuesday Club, author of the *Itinerarium,* and prominent colonial physician, his career deserves a full length biographical study.[31]

He was born in Scotland in 1712, the son of Dr. William Hamilton, professor of divinity and principal of the University of Edinburgh. His cousin, Dr. Robert Hamilton, was a professor of anatomy and botany in the University of Glasgow and perhaps it was from him that he acquired an interest in medicine. He finished his medical course in 1737, and arrived in Maryland the following year.

He was related to Gavin Hamilton, a successful bookseller and printer in Edinburgh from 1733 to 1766.[32] The latter's mother wrote:

Gavin pushes a Brisk Trade. He had a plea to defend before the Court of Session against the Booksellers of London who pursued him for reprint-

[27] Tuesday Club Minutes, 10 October, 1752.
[28] Inventories of Estates, LXVII, 97-101.
[29] Joseph T. Wheeler, " Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVI (1941), 298-299.
[30] Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium,* edited by A. B. Hart (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 137-138.
[31] Best biographical sketch, written by Hester Dorsey Richardson, will be found in *Dictionary of American Biography,* VIII, 170-171.
[32] *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726-1775* (Oxford, 1932).

ing English Books which they alledged were their property & having gained it he is pushing this new Scotts trade with vigour & success & hopes in a little time to export more books than he imports . . .[33]

Like the other Scottish and later the Irish and American booksellers and publishers he opposed the monopoly of literary power held by the London booksellers by means of the Copyright Law of 1710 and the interpretation which the Courts placed upon it.[34] It is possible that Dr. Hamilton purchased his books from Gavin Hamilton instead of buying them from London booksellers.

During his early years in Edinburgh, Alexander Hamilton had been a member of a club which met every Friday evening for drinking " two penny ale " and smoking tobacco.[35] This pleasant memory may have influenced him in inviting a group of friends to his Annapolis home in 1745 to organize the Tuesday Club. His official title was Loquacious Scribble, Esq., and he well deserved it for his mock-heroic history of the Club and for the humorous style in which he wrote the minutes.

In 1747 he married Margaret Dulany, a daughter of Daniel Dulany, described by Jonas Green in a notice of the wedding as " a well accomplish'd and agreeable young Lady, with a handsome Fortune." [36] Hamilton was subject to frequent illnesses, and in fact his long journey through the Northern colonies in 1744, described in the *Itinerarium,* was taken in order to get a change of climate. In his letters to his mother he complained that he was coughing blood and probably his death resulted from consumption.

He died in May, 1756, and although no inventory was made of his library, his obituary notice written by Walter Dulany, his brother-in-law, shows that he was a great reader.

In his Conversation he was instructive, full of Vivacity, & most peculiarly engaging. He had exquisite Parts & was very assiduous in his Studies, by which means he became accomplish'd in all the Refinemts. of Polite Literature . . . His talents were happily adapted to every Branch of Science & his active Soul cou'd never be satisfy'd with Superficial Enquiries or rest 'til he had a Compitent knowledge of his Subject. His reading

[33] Mary Hamilton to " Sandie " (19 July, 1749). *Dulany Papers*, V, 9. At the Maryland Historical Society.

[34] For a discussion of early American book piracies and their relation to Maryland bookselling see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 122-125.

[35] Hamilton letterbook in Dulany Papers at the Maryland Historical Society.

[36] *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1747.

was various & well digested & calculated to instruct & please all who had ye pleasure of his Acquaintance, for he was not only deeply vers'd in ye Mysteries of his Profession, but accomplish'd in all the Refinements of Polite Literature.[37]

His brother, the Rev. John Hamilton, was a clergyman in Maryland and was elected an honorary member of the Tuesday Club with the privilege of attending meetings whenever he was in Annapolis. He was a musician and when he died in 1759, he owned a brass bassoon which was valued at one pound. His estate was valued at four hundred and thirty pounds and he owned "a Library of Books Chief Divinity mostly old" which was worth four pounds.[38]

The Rev. John Thornton of Kent County was also an honorary member of the Club, his name being recorded in the minutes when he visited Annapolis. He died in 1754 and although his estate was appraised at nearly one hundred and fifty pounds, he owned only five shillings worth of books.[39]

Another clergyman belonging to the Tuesday Club was the Rev. John Gordon. As rector of St. Anne's Parish in Anne Arundel County from 1745 to 1749, he was able to attend nearly every meeting of the club. In 1746, he delivered a sermon on the occasion of the defeat of the Jacobites which was published later that year by Jonas Green.[40] Another sermon, on "Brotherly Love Explain'd and Enforc'd" delivered before the Masons in Annapolis, was also published.[41] He later became rector of St. Michael's Parish in Talbot County and after the Revolution received an honorary degree from Washington College.

Robert Gordon, perhaps a relative of this clergyman, was one of the founders of the Tuesday Club. He came to meetings regularly and contributed his bit to the entertainment. Nothing is known of his other interests. When he died his personal property was worth over eight hundred pounds and he owned "a parcel of books" which Jonas Green appraised at six pounds.[42]

The Rev. Alexander Malcom of Queen Anne's County joined

[37] Manuscript obituary notice in Dulany Papers, V, 11.
[38] Inventories of Estates, LXV, 56-62.
[39] Inventories of Estates, LVIII, 252-3.
[40] L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), No. 117.
[41] Wroth, No. 141.
[42] Inventories of Estates, LVIII, 282-285.

in 1749. When his inventory was taken in 1763 he owned " A large Library of Books wherein there is many very old, and Useless, such as french Spanish &c." which was valued at fifty-two pounds. The total value of his property was about four hundred pounds.[43] It would be interesting to know the titles of the books in foreign languages which the appraisers considered " useless."

The Rev. Thomas Cradock was an honorary member of the Club and attended several meetings. He was born in England in 1712 and came to Maryland in 1744. The Governor appointed him rector of St. Thomas's Parish in Baltimore County and he held this position until his death in 1770. He published two sermons and a *New Version of the Psalms of David*.[44] Cradock conducted a small school and boarded the boys in his home. His curriculum was largely in Greek and Latin.[45]

From the names of members of the Tuesday Club which have been mentioned it might seem that the social gatherings were largely made up of clergymen. This was, of course, not the case. Among the members there was at least one other physician than Dr. Alexander Hamilton. He was Dr. John Key of St. Mary's County. Nothing has been discovered about his medical career and practically all that is known of him is that when he died in 1756, his estate was worth nearly six hundred pounds and he owned medical books valued at seventeen pounds. Philip Key, perhaps a relative, was an honorary member and attended meetings whenever he could leave his store in St. Mary's County to go to Annapolis. When he died in 1764, his property was worth nearly six hundred pounds and nearly fifteen hundred pounds was owing to him. In his home he had a walnut bookcase containing books worth a little over twelve pounds. On the walls were several pictures done by local artists. He sold books in his store and the stock on hand when he died consisted of: [46]

13 Bibles
17 Psalters
1 Prayer Book
1 doz. Testaments
2 Spelling Books
6 Historys
4 Primers
6 Horn Books
13 doz. Question do.

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[43] Inventories of Estates, LXXXIII, 249-254.
[44] Wroth, Nos. 122, 189.
[45] *Maryland Gazette*, May 5, 1747.
[46] Inventories of Estates, CII, 84, 101, 124.

There were several lawyers in the Tuesday Club, including Stephen Bordley, John Beale Bordley, William Cumming and James Calder.[47] William Cumming of Annapolis, one of the founders, died several years before the organization was disbanded. An inventory taken in July, 1752, showed that he owned over thirty pounds' worth of law books. He also had a " Tuesday Club Meddal Struck in Honour of Charles Cole Esqr President of the Ancient Tuesday Club in the City of Annapolis." His entire estate was worth a little over three hundred pounds.[48]

James Calder of Kent County was an honorary member, seldom able to leave his practice to attend meetings. He died in 1775 and an inventory was made that year which disclosed that he owned a bookcase, valued at two pounds. The contents were not described at that time but two years later an additional inventory was made in which he was credited with a collection of law books worth fifty pounds. His whole estate was worth more than a thousand pounds.[49]

Daniel Campbell of Dorchester County was a merchant, and, like Philip Key, sold books in his store. There were fourteen small " pamphlets of the presbyterian Catechism " and three Testaments in stock when he died in 1764. There is no record of his having books in his home for his personal reading.[50]

John Raitt, an Annapolis merchant, was the only person on record to have the distinction of being blackballed by the Tuesday Club. Dr. Hamilton put up his name for membership, but several members voted against him. He was apparently a wealthy man in comparison with most of the members of the Club. His property was worth over twenty-five hundred pounds and he had a long list of debtors. He owned a violin and books worth ten pounds.[51]

The wealthiest man connected with the Tuesday Club was Daniel Dulany, probably the elder of that name, of Annapolis. He was educated for the bar at Gray's Inn and held the offices of Attorney General and Commissary General in Maryland. He was the author of *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland*

[47] The reading interests of the Bordleys are mentioned in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 289-297 and XXXVII (1942), 309-310.
[48] Inventories of Estates, LIII, 18. One of the medals is owned by the Maryland Historical Society.
[49] Inventories of Estates, LIX, 183.
[50] Inventories of Estates, LXXVI, 323-328. [51] Inventories of Estates, LXIX, 1-6.

to the Benefit of English Laws (1728), one of the most important documents in the constitutional history of the colony.[52] Although he probably lived in Annapolis, he seldom attended meetings. Some idea of the extent of his land holdings can be gathered from his inventory which listed personal property at Island Point Plantation, Price's Plantation, Middle Plantation, New Design, Drum Point, Wollmans, and Great House Plantation.[53] At the latter he had the following books:

Down Medicum or a Suplyment to the new London Dispensary
Malcoms Book keeping
Winter Evenings Conference
Hows Works
Hebrew Lexicon Buxford (?)
Self Dedication by Wm Harris
Body of Laws of Maryland
Hows living Temple Vol 2d
Debtor & Creditor made easy
Muscipula or the Mouse Trap a Poem Latin and English
1 old Bible
a Treatise on Architecture

In the dining room of his house in Annapolis the appraisers found the following volumes:

A History of the World folio
Drydens Virgill do
The Bible with the Comon prayer
Nelsons Festivals and Whole Duty of Man
Blackmore on the Creation
Nelsons livily Oracles
Do government of the Tongue
Do Art of Contentment
Do Ladys Calling
Burnetts Reformation of the Church
Sherlocks future Judgment
History of England by Question and Answer
Tate and Broadleys Version of the Psalms
History of Tom Jones in his Married State
Bates Sermons

In his study the following were found:

Ricants Lives of the Popes folio
Works do
Bacons Works 4 Vols do
Priors Do 2 do do
Latin Bible 1do do
Rapins History 2 do
English Bible do do
Littletons Dictionary 1do 4do
Homers Iliad by Pope 6 vol.
Do Odesseys 5 vol.
Moheirs Works
Echerds History 1, 3 & 4 8 vo
Chilturn & Val farming 8vo
Horse Husbandry
Spectators 3, 5 & 6
Plutarchs Lives 2 vols
Dulanys life of David 2 do
Philosophical Transactions abridged
Bayley's Dictionary

[52] Wroth, No. 42. See St. G. L. Sioussat, *Public Services of Daniel Dulany, the Elder, Johns Hopkins Studies,* XXI, No. 7.
[53] Inventories of Estates, LXXXIV, 32-70.

Plowden
Domets Civil Law
Universal History 8 do
Coke upon Littleton
Puffendorfs Law of Nature
Jacobs Law Dictionary
Cooks Reports
[?] History
Locks Works
Chambers Dictionary
Echards History of England
Gordons Tacitus
Moderina Statute
Pharmacopea Extemporanea
Do Officinatis
Pranis Medica
Lucs Veneria
Lixceen [?] Physico
Memoirs Farqhar
New State of England
Locks Posthumous Works
Geographical Dictionary
Pools Annotations in the Bible 1700
Do on do 1733
Malcolius New System
A Paraphraise on the Evangelist
Divinity of our Saviour by Sherlock
Essay on health by Chine
Art of Thinking by [?]
Clarks Atributes
Hudibras
Paradice Lost
Paradice regained
Sherlocks Sermons
Do on the Immortality of the Soul
Sherlock on Providence
Dulanys Poligamy
Deleves Journal 1 vol. folio
Burmans do 2 vol. Quarto
Religious Phylosopher 2 v do
Montigue Essay 1 octavo
History of Europe from 1000 to the Treaty
History of Europe 1710 do 1711
Prideaus Connections
Universal Dictionary
Baxters Life
Wallers Poems
Porters Antiquities
Polibius History
Raleighs History 2, 3 & 4
Proceedings agst Sachaverell
Miscellanaea
Dulanys Revalation
Grotius
Lodiards Continuation of Rapin
Art of Husbandry
A Treatise of Husbandry
Account of Denmark
Juliens Arts
Treatise of Government
Overeys Remarks on Swift
Testament
Connors History of Ireland
Inssaits [?] History of England
A Parcel of Books being 105 in all
95 French Books
Hows Works

In a chest in his store the following books were found:

6½ Dozen of Harry 8th Cards & 8 Packs Highlanders
1 Book Langleys Architect of Prices of Work
1 Dos Arithmetick
12 Testaments
5 Spelling Books
7 small Books
3 Crosbys Marriners Guide

His library shows him to have been a man with wide interests. He probably had a large collection of law books, which he may

have given to his son Daniel Dulany, Jr., before his death as they were not listed in his inventory.

Among the members who were probably planters was James Hollyday of Anne Arundel County. When he died in 1771, his nearest relative whose signature was required on the inventory had to make his mark. His property was worth two hundred pounds and he owned a parcel of books worth less than three shillings.[54]

Captain William Rogers and Edward Dorsey, both of Anne Arundel County, were also probably planters. Rogers had a parcel of old books worth only fifteen shillings and his whole estate was valued at less than sixty pounds. Dorsey's property was worth four hundred pounds and his books were valued at one pound. Colonel John Addison of Prince George's County, an honorary member, was worth nearly twenty-five hundred pounds and owned a bookcase containing books to the amount of nine pounds.

To conclude this survey of the members without referring to Jonas Green, the Annapolis printer, would be doing injustice to the Tuesday Club. As far as is known he was the only representative of the artisan class in the Club. That he was admitted at about the same time that John Raitt, the wealthy Annapolis merchant, was blackballed suggests that in this group of congenial spirits good nature and wit counted for more than wealth. As the official poet of the Club, he composed the anniversary odes. The members were so pleased with one of these poems that they ordered Anthony Bacon, their London plenipotentiary, to have it inserted in one of the English literary magazines. After a vain effort to carry out these orders Bacon wrote back:

> . . . one of the publishers (Edward Cave) of the said magazines (of the Gentleman's viz) told the said plenipo, in a gentleman like manner, that he chose not to publish anything in his magazine but what would be understood by the generality of people, and what was of public utility, but I would ask this grave and profound Gentleman, whether in his publications hitherto, he has kept strictly to this formal declaration, and whether several of his love songs are of any public utility, or whether his rebuses, riddles, anagrams, puns and conundrums with which he mightily abounds, are understood by the Generality of people, or Indeed by any Sort of people, but the Idle fools that compose them . . .

[54] Inventories of Estates, CVII, 208; CX, 158.

The publisher of the *Universal Magazine* distorted his face into " a very Contemptuous leer " and told Bacon that the author of the poem was a fool. After Hamilton had read this letter aloud, Green arose and said that he was glad that the poem was rejected because Colley Cibber, the Poet Laureate, might have done what Pope did to Edmund Curll, the London stationer: " That is have poisoned me, under the mask of friendship with a Glass of old hock, as a whet before Dinner, knowing I am naturally fond of whets." [55] Jonas Green's inventory does not mention the books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers which must have been lying around his home and printing office.

This survey of the libraries of the members of the Tuesday Club has revealed that all of them owned books and usually the value of the library depended on the size of the estate though that was not always true. An effort has also been made to show that the members of this well-known social club represented the moderately well-to-do professional men, planters and even artisans at the middle of the eighteenth century.

(*To be continued*)

[55] Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 20 October, 1751.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND NEAR THE LEONARD CALVERT HOUSE

By Henry Chandlee Forman

In the exploration of St. Mary's City it sometimes happens that an isolated finding occurs which appears to have no relation to any other specific known portion of that buried town. While searching for the remains of Governor Leonard Calvert's house, *East St. Mary's,* in the Governor's Field, the writer in 1940 accidentally stumbled upon a refuse pit, probably seventeenth century in date, containing a number of interesting artifacts which shed light upon the accoutrements of the early colonists of Maryland. The pit was completely excavated, and a record made of its contents.[1]

At this date the Calvert dwelling still eludes discovery; but its traditional location is close to the pit in question. A large frame house, it was built soon after the Governor's Field was patented in 1634 to the first Governor, Leonard Calvert, brother of the second Lord Baltimore.[2] Whether some of the objects thrown into the cavity came from this historic mansion is not known. There is always the possibility that they came from it.

The location of the find is about one hundred twenty-five feet south-south-east of the first State House, known as the Smith's Town House, and about sixty feet from the boundary between the Governor's Field and the Chapel Land. The walls of the trench are of hard sand and clay, the floor of sand and gravel. In shape roughly triangular, the pit has its long sides running in the same east-and-west direction as do those of the Smith's Town House. It is not large, nor deep, but is ample enough to contain two graves.[3] Inasmuch as animal bones, some of which were charred, came from nearly every part of the cavity, and the earthenware recovered was already in fragments before it was thrown

[1] Work done under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C., 1940.

[2] H. C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 213.

[3] The length of the pit is 9′ 7″; width varies from 4′ 8″ at one end to 5′ 3″ at the other. The walls go down vertically 3′ 7″ to the floor.

Fig. 1 Clay pipes, branding-iron "K," Indian spearhead, ornamental plaster, green glass button, quarrel and calme.

Fig. 2 Yellow glazed pitcher (center) and fragments of china and earthenware from St. Mary's City.

in, the probability is that the pit was used for refuse and not as the mud cellar of a building.

In the rich fill of earth which the trench contained there were uncovered charred timbers, oyster shells, as well as the bones and earthenware noted above. As may be seen by the inventory below, the principal objects from the excavation present a good cross-sectional view of the equipment of the early settler in this section of the country. A fragment of quarrel, or leaded diamond window pane (Fig. 1) from a casement, is the second such piece of glass found in Maryland. Since quarrels were generally employed in America before 1685, and very seldom after 1700, it would appear that the date of most of, if not all, the artifacts recovered is seventeenth century. As a counterpart to the quarrel, there was discovered a strip of lead calme, the first of its kind brought to light in the State. Such calmes held the quarrels in place in the early casements.

Other objects of note came from the pit. There is a green glass button with raised points and traces of silver paint upon it (Fig. 1). Probably used for spirits or ointment, a yellow glazed pitcher was found, decorated with incised designs purporting to be swan and peacock (Fig. 2). The vessel is without a handle and has its foot marred by what seems to be premeditated chipping, as if some child had once-upon-a-time amused itself by making mutilations. The crude earthenware bowls (Fig. 3) are marked on the outside with shallow ring groovings, and have been pieced together by the writer. There is a front door footscraper and a garden hoe and shovel. An inhabitant of the city whose name began with "K" possessed the branding-iron with that letter pictured in the illustration (Fig. 3). Such irons were often used for branding cattle or hogsheads of tobacco. The bit of plaster with the incised leaf pattern decorated the wall of a house. These comprise by no means all the artifacts. There follows the complete inventory:

1. *Hardware*

Branding-iron with letter "K," 4⅛″ long, ¼″ thick; handle gone.

Hoe, 8″ wide; tip of handle welded, probably fitted wooden handle.

Shovel blade, 8″ long, 5⅝″ wide, ⅛″–¼″ thick; handle gone.

Footscraper, 7¾″ long.
Strap-hinge, originally about 18″ long.
Pintle, 3⅝″.
Second quarrel fragment found in Maryland, 1/32″ thick.
First calme found in Maryland, ⅜″ wide, nearly ⅛″ thick.
Lead channel, ¾″ wide, originally 11″ long; use unknown.
Iron handle lifter, 7½″.

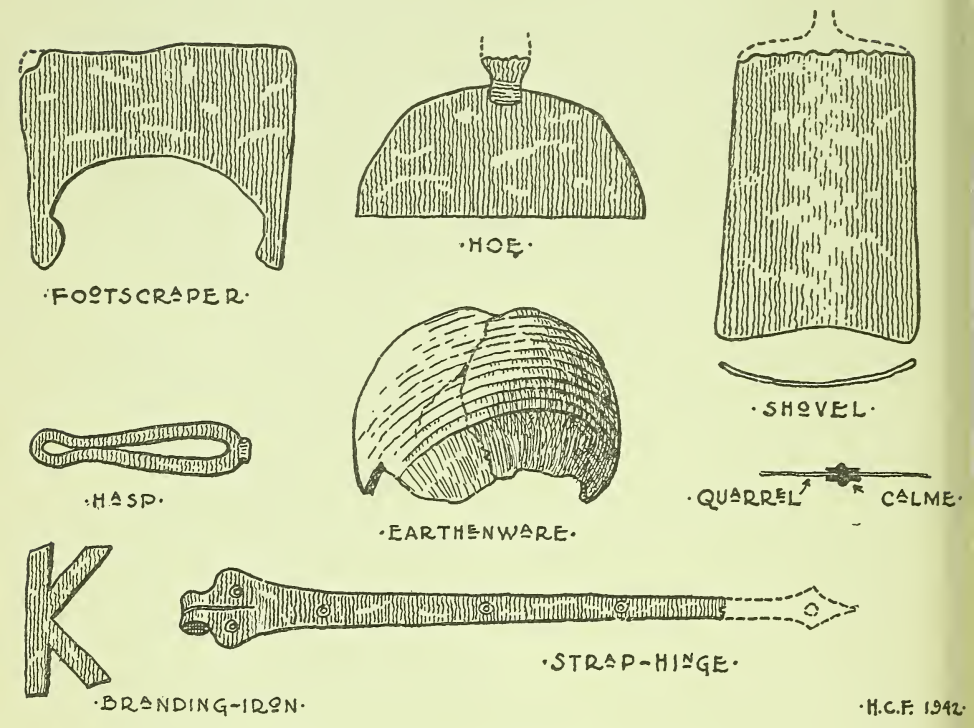


Fig. 3 Part of the archaeological find from St. Mary's City

Hasp, 5¾″.
Bridle bit.
Spikes and nails.
Iron bands (barrel hoops?)
Brass strip.

2. *Ceramics*

Yellow glazed pitcher, decorated with *sgraffito* swan and peacock designs (?), the bodies of which appear to have been painted in brown slip; handle gone; foot probably intentionally chipped; 3¾″ high, 2¾″ diameter.

White scalloped dish, 3 fragments.
Yellow slip earthen ware, with dark orange stripes, three fragments.
Chocolate-brown glazed earthenware cup, with mottled effect of black and yellow; handle gone.
Stoneware cup or jar fragment, with face of Indian or African in relief on blue and gray field; originally 2¾″ diameter.
Crude earthenware bowls, some marked on exterior with shallow rings; 9″ to 11″ diameter.
About thirty other kinds of earthenware and china.

3. *Plaster*

Fragments having incised markings of leaf or palmette.
Fragments attached to red clay base or undercoat, upon which are wood lath markings.
Fragments from corners of a room or rooms.

4. *Brick*

44 orange or red English brickbats.
2 yellow English brickbats.
1 glazed English brick, glazed on all sides.
19 orange or red Dutch brickbats and 2 bricks.
3 yellow Dutch brickbats.
2 porous "floor brick" or tiles.

The red Dutch brick have countersunk edges due to the mould they were made in, and measure 7⅜″ by 3½″ by 1⅜″. A fragment of yellow Dutch brick is (?) by 3⅛″ by 1⅜″. A fragment of yellow English brick is (?) by 4″ by 1¾″. One of the "floor brick" is (?) by 4½″ by 1¼″.

5. *Miscellaneous*

Green glass button, painted with silver, ¾″ diameter, ¼″ thick; metal back gone.
Grindstone, with charred marks, 1¾″ thick at edge, thicker at center.
Indian flint spearhead.
Bottle fragment, colonial type.
Pipe bowls and stem fragments, with fleur-de-lis designs.
Animal bones, some of which are cow bones.
Cow teeth.
Oyster shells.
Charcoal and burnt timbers.

THE WEDNESDAY CLUB

A BRIEF SKETCH FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By Ottilie Sutro

The Wednesday Club—a name that recalls glamorous days of old—was an amateur music and dramatic club which played an integral part in the cultural and social life of Baltimore and helped to raise it to a high artistic level. Its members were among the socially élite; the participants in its soirées were remarkable in that some ranked with the foremost professionals of the day. A few ultimately adopted stage careers, and others turned down good contracts. Small wonder that the Club's fame spread far and wide, reaching beyond the seas to Europe, and that prominent men and women came great distances to attend its entertainments.

The Club's origin evolved from unique gatherings held by Otto Sutro in his bachelor quarters, 1858-1869, the first of which was given on his birthday, Wednesday, February 24, 1858, to reciprocate innumerable invitations and courtesies. Being out of the ordinary, the evening was extraordinarily enjoyed, guests sought their host's consent to come often, and ere long formed the habit of dropping in every Wednesday. The reunions grew in size and popularity, and the habitués had a rollicking good time after participating in the best music. Those taking part were the town's finest amateurs, among them James Gibson, Jr., Frank Gibson, George B. Coale, Henry C. Wysham, B. W. Chase, Archie B. Coulter, Sam Davis, William M. Pegram and Leonce Rabillon; and artists endowed with good voices, Dr. A. J. Volck, John R. Robertson, W. A. Walker, besides the ardent patron of music, W. Wilkins Glenn, and the music enthusiast and wit, William Prescott Smith; and many others, participants as well as listeners, too numerous to enumerate here. In friendly rivalry they brought interesting compositions or recitations, old or new, known or unknown, for the first and serious half of the evening. Native creators of music and verse were especially sponsored, their works performed and received enthusiastically. With refreshments the fun began, at ten, followed by what was soon dubbed " the Circus " due to the comical, clownish feats introduced by the friends

who vied with each other in mirth-provoking numbers. Foremost among these was a " Cat Trio " as sung by Allman, Jim Gibson and Sutro. A regular feature and climax was Verdi's " Anvil Chorus " in which all joined, with coal scuttles, andirons, teakettles, tin pans, any and every old thing wherewith to make noisy substitution for anvils. This hilarious scene was chosen by John R. Robertson to immortalize the gatherings; drawn from life about 1863 and reproduced many times. With the singing of " So Say We All of Us " at the stroke of twelve, the friends parted. Each New Year's Eve there was an all-frolic reunion, when fun ran riot.

During Civil War years the evenings were never interfered with by the military commandants, even under martial law, proclaimed in June, 1863, when social clubs were ordered closed and their members forbidden to convene.

Hostilities over, the friends who had fought on either side returned and resumed their *bon camaraderie* in reunions merrier than ever. New arrivals, too, lent lustre regularly, distinguished visitors more fleetingly, to the evenings at 67 North Charles Street. Of the former, the most prominent was Innes Randolph, whose inimitable satire on Italian grand opera has come down to us. Conceived for these reunions, a sketch was drawn at the time by W. A. Walker. Years later Dr. Volck made his remarkable illustrations with which " The Grasshopper " was published by Otto Sutro and dedicated to the Wednesday Club.

When Mr. Sutro announced his intention to discontinue the evenings after his marriage, October, 1869, William Prescott Smith conceived the idea of converting the gatherings into a club. Nine of the foremost habitués met at their host's and the ten then elected themselves a permanent board of governors with Mr. Smith as president. W. Wilkins Glenn was chosen vice-president and treasurer; Henry C. Wysham, secretary; and James Gibson, Jr., John O'G. Allmand, Henry Verdebaugh, C. W. Brush, R. Courlaender, A. B. Coulter, and Otto Sutro completed the board. The name was a foregone conclusion, Wednesday Club; the *raison d'être,* a continuation of Sutro's gatherings, he presiding. Aside from this it was determined to give major soirées once a month each season, to which ladies would be invited either to take part or to attend as guests. These were to be musical programmes, supplemented occasionally by dramas as soon as an appro-

priate club-house could be secured. The constitution, drawn up and signed November 20, 1869, the Governors invited one hundred kindred spirits to become members. Mr. Glenn generously donated rooms in the former Glenn residence on Charles Street above Fayette—famous as figuring in the raids and pilferage of Bank Riot days in the thirties. Here Governors' meetings and Wednesday reunions were held, soirées taking place at Raine Hall on a stage not equipped for theatricals.

Such unprecedented success did the young club have that many eminent men applied for membership. At this juncture, faced with the problem of amending the constitution to admit them and finding an adequate club-house for the planned dramas, Prescott Smith was approached with proposals of a merger by George W. Dobbin, last president of one of the closed war-time clubs, the " Allston Association." It was Judge Dobbin's wish to revive the old association on a larger scale, which he thought could best be accomplished through amalgamation with the already happily launched Wednesday Club.

The Allston owed its existence to the fervently patriotic enthusiasm of the gifted painter Francis B. Mayer, in whose studio colleagues, their friends and patrons met for conviviality and to discuss means of awakening the public to greater appreciation of the worth of American artists. This was in 1858-59, the same winter in which the musical element congregated at Sutro's, indicating a general awakening to aesthetic things.

Mr. Mayer and his friends soon decided that their aims could best be attained by means of a club and the name " Allston Association " was chosen in honor of the well-known American artist, Washington Allston. A constitution was drawn up according to usual club regulations, except that ladies were admitted as auxiliary members, art exhibitions were held and assistance given native artists. Curiously enough the first president of this Club was also named Smith—Samuel Smith; and the board of directors, consisting of twelve men subject to annual election, included several artists, Frank B. Mayer to the fore. Among the amusements scheduled were alternating lectures and musicales on Tuesday evenings. On Saturdays more general attendance took place. The Association flourished and did splendid work until frustrated by over-zealous militarists in 1863. Unlike the Maryland and other Clubs it remained somnolent after the war.

Though members of the Wednesday Club voiced opposition to the merger, Prescott Smith and Judge Dobbin soon convinced the majority of its advantages. The former's proposal to select a permanent Board was turned down as was one for electing members of each board fifty-fifty. He and his Board thereupon accepted the Allston's with the proviso that as soon as practicable a general meeting be called, and board and constitution revised to meet Wednesday Club preferences. Under the terms of the merger the weekly gatherings under Sutro's jurisdiction were guaranteed, as was the broader plan for the soirées. Thereupon Mr. Glenn turned over his premises for the use of the combined clubs and on June 18, 1870, the enrollment of members began with many amusing little tilts at the start. Old Allston members flocked in and the membership of the two was about equal until, after a few months, the Association moved to St. Paul Street above Monument and thence to West Franklin Street (later Mme. Lefèvre's School), when the Wednesday Club contingent gradually became outnumbered two to one, and pledges made in good faith were lost sight of with shifting boards. Only three or four desultory soirées took place each year. The weekly reunions, however, were kept up though never quite the same as in Wednesday Club or bachelor Sutro days.

On the point of breaking away and resuming their independence upon more than one occasion, the Wednesday Club governors were deterred first by the sudden death of their esteemed president, Prescott Smith, and then by renewed promises anent soirées and an adequate club-house. The latter materialized in 1875 with the purchase of the beautiful Howard mansion, corner of Franklin and Charles Streets, from the erstwhile Union Club. But no sooner installed than the old refrain of inadequate rooms wherein to give dramas and musicales was again raised.

Wednesday Club governors then " stood not on the order of going " but withdrew. They adopted, however, a good-will attitude which precluded ill-feeling. The original Club was quickly reorganized, the constitution but slightly altered with governors augmented to twelve. Judge Dobbin, who had long since espoused their cause, became president and John Curlett vice-president. Messrs. Courlaender, Coulter, Allmand and Verdebaugh resigned because of increasing personal duties. and those chosen in their place were John McKim, Frank Frick, James M.

Drill, F. P. Clark, Dr. J. J. Chisolm, and Fred M. Colston. Four of the original board only retained their posts: W. Wilkins Glenn, James Gibson, Henry Wysham and Otto Sutro.

Rooms over Needle's Linen Store on Charles Street above Lexington were secured and after inviting one hundred—mostly the original crowd—to membership, enthusiastically they launched their long cherished plans. For the first major soirée in March, 1876, extracts from the Merchant of Venice and Sullivan's " Cox and Box " were chosen.

With this first performance such a triumph was scored that the Club's fame spread meteorlike and increased with each succeeding soirée. Applications for membership grew apace, necessitating amendments to the constitution and larger Club quarters, which were found in the Monumental Assembly Rooms, corner of Centre and St. Paul Streets. 'Mid the general rejoicing, sorrow crept in through the illness and death of the Club's great sponsor and friend, Mr. Glenn, who had retained health and strength long enough to help bring about the Club's reanimation.

His successor on the board was another old friend, George B. Coale, who, be it noted, distinguished himself as Shylock in the first soirèe. Other gifted actors were added to the roster as active members, and the list of complimentary ones became more comprehensive, embracing non-member men in the chorus, in the orchestra, and quite a few professional soloists, who were glad to perform side by side with the gifted amateurs. From eight to ten soirées were given each season, chamber music, various soli, small choral works and portions of larger ones being performed as well as many delightful comedies and dramas. Upon one occasion the Wednesday Club assisted at some musicales given by the Allstons in their beautiful Club gardens. That Association subsequently became amalgamated with the Athenaeum Club and retained its fine club-house under the latter title to the end of its existence.

The Allston Association, thus submerged, was soon forgotten; whereas the Wednesday Club bloomed forth in steady progressive worth, with performances that so enchanted the " divine little Lotta," when present upon several occasions as a guest of the McKim-Reeds, that she expressed a desire to act with them. That evening was like a gala grand opera opening. Lotta packed the

house and brought it down. For all of the Wednesday Club—in fact all Baltimore—adored her.

The year before she played was outstanding in that most of Dr. Volck's sketches of the Wednesday gatherings and soirée-plays were then made (1878); at least these are the ones that have come down to us and for which we are everlastingly grateful. Through his genius the Club lives for us again, and we see it as did our fathers, as generations hereafter may see and rejoice in it.

The Club soon outgrew the Monumental Assembly Rooms. Its prestige, the increasing number of applications for membership, and the many prominent people from out of town who sought invitations, necessitated a club-house with up-to-date stage facilities.

A site situated on the east side of Charles Street between Biddle and Preston was ultimately given preference, as was architect George A. Frederick's design for the house. The first move, however, was to incorporate the Club, hitherto deemed unnecessary, and with the stock oversubscribed, building operations began.

Completed in December, 1879, the eagerly awaited opening was held the 30th, inaugurating not only the new club-house, but the golden period of the Club's existence as well. The handsome Renaissance building was universally admired as was its remarkably well-equipped stage; and also, the magnificent mantel created for the large club-room by Dr. Volck, declared by long odds to have been his masterpiece.

In December with deep regret governors and members saw Mr. Wysham depart for California. He had been a universal favorite and much admired. Mr. Gilmor Meredith was installed in his place on the board. The temptation is strong to mention all the men and women who built up the Club's renown, but nothing is more tedious than glancing through long lists of names. Suffice it to mention here only those whose reputation is outstanding. Actors—John McKim, Clymer Whyte, George B. Coale, Alfred Sumner, Alex. Godby, W. M. Pegram, R. R. Brown, Innes Randolph, Bob Jenkins, Frank Redwood, and Carrell Lucas; musicians and singers—Henry Wysham, Frank Gibson, Bill Emory, Giuseppe Martine, Edward Reuling, Dr. B. M. Hopkinson, Stephan Steinmueller, Carlos Sanchez, and Sidney Lanier. Delightful reminiscences have been gathered about all of them.

The women equally remembered are: Actresses—Mrs. Willie Reed, Mrs. Charles Dennison, Miss J. Chesney, Miss Bessie McIl-

vain, Miss Janie Shriver, Mrs. Isabel Dobbin, Mrs. B. M. Hopkinson, Miss Esther A. Brown, Miss Mary Ransom (Mrs. Charles James), Miss Charlotte Rogers (Mrs. Mustard), and above all, Miss Mary Coale (Mrs. Francis T. Redwood). Musicians and singers—Mrs. James Lindsay, Mme. Weiller, Miss Elise Baraldi, Mrs. Fred Colston, Mrs. Willie Reed, Mrs. Otto Sutro, Miss McIlvain, Miss Elise Gelston, Miss Katie Dickey and others.

Even longer is the list of great men who were the Club's guests Wednesday evenings, quite a tabulation of " Who's Who " of the day in music, art, drama, belles lettres and science.

As for the dramatic performances, it was the excellent presentation of minor, even insignificant roles, that made them outdistance professional ones which adhered to the star-system with many an incompetent. In the matter of *mise-en-scène,* too, Club productions stood on a pinnacle, for scions of society lent furnishings, treasures and heirlooms to enhance them. Again detailed lists of plays and compositions are omitted as too long.

Operettas and plays sketched by Dr. Volck were: Mendelssohn's " Son and Stranger," Thomas Barnes Rhodes' " Bombastes Furioso," Sardou's "A Scrap of Paper," Henry C. Byron's " Our Boys," Charles Smith Sheltnam's " A Lesson in Love," S. Theyre Smith's " Cut Off With a Shilling " and " A Happy Pair," W. S. Gilbert's " Sweethearts." Among major musical works given were: Gade's " Erlking's Daughter," Haendel's " Alexander's Feast," Schumann's " Paradise and Peri," Mendelssohn's " Elijah " and Bruch's " Lay of the Bell." Besides these Arthur Sullivan's comic operas " Cox and Box," " Trial by Jury," " Pirates of Penzance " and " Iolanthe " were performed.

There is no doubt that the permanence of the Club's organization was responsible for the progress, poise and assurance attained by the amateurs. Each group of governors was assigned certain duties: four were the executives who looked after its affairs and finances, four had charge of house regulations and refreshments, and four had control of soirées. To the latter alone the artistry of achievement was due. They were James Gibson, John McKim, Henry Wysham,[1] and Otto Sutro. The first two had charge of the dramas; the last two of the musical programmes; and all four, of the operettas, working always in harmonious accord.

[1] Frank Frick replaced Mr. Wysham after his departure.

It is astonishing that the Club with its many members existed and thrived through the years without a ripple of argument, much less discord. It would have been miraculous had this continued with the admission of men to whom music and art were minor considerations. Due to unexpected expense—increase in building the club-house and repairs later on—no dividends on the stock could be paid. In addition unexpected overcrowding of the hall gave rise to complaints which were freely aired in the newspapers. In the end it turned out to be nothing more than a tempest in a tea-pot, and the Club with its soirées went serenely on for three more years.

In 1885 Judge Dobbin felt the necessity to curtail his activities and resigned the presidency, Mr. Curlett succeeding him in office. Mr. Drill was simultaneously transferred to Pittsburgh by the Northern Central R. R. and the two vacancies were ably filled by Messrs. George S. Brown and William C. Pennington, whose son Harper was one of the principal artists of the Club.

The governors had repeatedly sought to diminish the membership and organize along early lines, offering to buy the stock of retiring members. This was the more imperative because leading actors and musicians found it increasingly difficult to spare time toward preparing so many soirées. Substitutes of their calibre were lacking, and it became necessary to give fewer entertainments.

To attain this purpose a general meeting was called, at which the former disputants gained the greater number of votes, refused to comply and decreed that the club-house be sold at public auction for the benefit of the stockholders. This occurred December 22, 1886. In order to prevent the proud club-house from falling into unworthy hands, Mr. Curlett purchased it and later sold it to Mr. Albaugh for a like sum, when it became known as Albaugh's Lyceum Theatre.

Thus Wednesday gatherings and soirées ceased at the peak of achievement, like a candle that is snuffed out by a sudden gust of wind. But their fame has endured to this day and will be kept alive through the room devoted to it by the Maryland Historical Society, where objects pertaining to the Club or its earlier days in Otto Sutro's rooms are assembled.[2] From the latter there are

[2] The Otto Sutro—Wednesday Club Collection, assembled by the Misses Rose L. and Ottilie Sutro, is exhibited on the third floor of the Society's home. The room was opened on February 24, 1943, the one hundred and tenth anniversary of Mr. Sutro's birth and the eighty-fifth of his original bachelor evening.—EDITOR.

a few pieces of furniture of Baltimore handicraft, including a hand-carved book-case, and drawings of that period by John Robertson, W. A. Walker and A. J. Volck.

The Wednesday Club sketches shown are the work of Dr. Volck, gifts in the name of Mr. Carrell Lucas, and loans from others. A copy of the " Wednesday Club Parade was given by Mr. Philip S. Straus. The book-shelves contain old magazines of art and drama belonging to the Club and in the book-case are objects used at Mr. Sutro's bachelor reunions or at the Wednesday Club. The most important of the latter is a silver " cup of welcome," filled to the brim and drained by all the great men entertained at the weekly gatherings. A large silver pitcher illustrative of the earlier reunions, designed by Leonce Rabillon, was a wedding gift " To Otto Sutro from his friends."

There are also albums containing photographs of the governors, the artists and most of the principal participants in the soirées. As an aside, the bonnets from Mrs. Sutro's trousseau and other items indicate the styles at the time the Club was organized in 1869. It is impossible to specify all gifts and donors in detail. They are indicated in the room itself, a shrine to the gifted men responsible for the Club.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 314, September, 1941, where the author described the general contents of this collection of papers, which are owned by the Society.)

David Baillie Warden served as secretary and consul at Paris under three American ministers and one might expect his correspondence with them to be unusually revealing. As a matter of fact, the letters received from the superior officers do contain interesting items, but the papers are too few to throw light on any important matters. Cordiality is the keynote of the twenty letters written by *General John Armstrong* (1758-1843) from 1804 to his departure from France in 1810. The first letter, addressed to " The Reverend D. B. Warden at Kingston Academy " in August, 1804, tells him to apply for citizenship at the court in Kingston, to get passports in New York, and to follow to Paris as soon as possible. Other epistles are those sent to Warden while the Minister was absent on trips to Bourbon l'Archambault, Moulins, Lyons, Geneva, and Amsterdam. They give directions for the conduct of the office, with particular instructions as to letters from the French government and the Department of State. They discuss ways and means for American seamen from condemned vessels to get home. In August, 1808, Armstrong tells Warden he has been appointed consul to replace Skipworth, and when there is difficulty getting the official papers from Skipworth the General directs Warden to write a clear explanation of the affair to be sent to President Madison. A short time later, the Minister describes plans to continue his trip to see Burgundy in the vintage season, and comments on Lyons as an example of the poverty and palsy which characterizes French manufactures. The final letter in 1810 says that Alexander McRae is to fill Warden's post while he goes back to America to work for the permanent appointment.

The twelve letters, 1810-12, from *Joel Barlow* (1754-1812) are very formal, in contrast to Armstrong's more friendly ones. All are brief and deal with matters of official routine; two are in the third person, and two are in the handwriting of a clerk with the Minister's signature. There are four short notes from Mrs.

Barlow during November and December 1812, while Barlow was away on the mission which ended in his death in Poland.

The correspondence from *William H. Crawford* (1772-1834), eight letters written in 1813-14, relates almost entirely to the controversy which resulted in Warden's removal from office. In August 1813 he sends a strong criticism of the conduct of the quarrel between Warden and William Lee, saying that representatives of the United States cannot expect to be treated with respect if they do not behave better. He decides that Warden interfered wrongly in the case of the prize vessel *Maria* and he intends to send the entire correspondence to the Department of State. The next May he removes Warden by order of the President giving Warden's assumption of title as Consul General and the Lee affair as causes for the action. On June 8, 1814, a long letter tells Warden he is entirely wrong in refusing to leave office, and in August a formal communication requests Warden to transfer to his successor all papers of an official character before his accounts are settled.

As the more or less generally recognized dean of Americans in Paris, Warden received countless letters introducing people who travelled abroad for pleasure or for study, and he was asked to do something for each of them. His ability to satisfy every request—whether it was to show the sights of the French capital, to obtain admission to meeting of the Institute or to the porcelain works at Sevres, or to assist in the general orientation of students—made him a very popular person, and his assistance was long remembered by the recipients of his kindnesses.

Several of the gentlemen whose correspondence has been discussed included in their letters introductions of friends bound to Paris for specific purposes. Joseph Cabell presents his nephew, Dr. James L. Cabell (1813-89), who goes to complete a medical education begun at the University of Virginia and in Baltimore, and the uncle asks Warden to help the younger man gain access to Parisian hospitals. Cabell also introduces Dr. Tucker and asks the former consul to aid him in the purchase of French books on civil engineering. DuPonceau introduces Dr. Nicholas H. Julius (1783-1862) of Berlin, who is on his way home after an examination of American penitentiaries, and Dr. Robert Hare (1781-1858), a professor of chemistry who wants to meet his "Brother Chemists." Dr. Mease recommends Mr. Caldcleugh, who goes

to live in Paris a while before settling to the practice of law. Sparks introduces Prof. John Farrar (1779-1853) of Harvard, Daniel R. Goodwin (1811-90), professor of modern languages at Bowdoin, and Francis Bowen (1811-90), instructor of moral and intellectual philosophy at Harvard. In 1837 he sends to Warden young Charles Sumner (1811-74), who "goes to Europe for the purpose of improving himself by observation & study." Ticknor, after his return to Boston, introduces Benjamin A. Gould (1787-1859), a scholar who has resigned from the classical school to travel for instruction and pleasure, and Dr. G. Henry Lodge, who goes to Paris to avail himself of the ampler opportunities in medical education.

These were representative of the types of people submitted to Warden's attentive care. A closer study of this division of the correspondence casts some light on the interest of early nineteenth-century Americans in the European background. A number of those who crossed the Atlantic did so, naturally enough, for general purposes. One of these was Henry Brevoort, Jr., whom Washington Irving (1783-1859) introduces in 1812 as "one of the dearest friends I have, with whom I have been for years on terms of the closest & most confidential intimacy." Five years later General Winfield Scott (1786-1866) introduces William C. Preston (1794-1862) and praises him for attainments in science and literature. In 1844 Preston introduces Dr. Francis Lieber (1800-72), "one of the most learned gentleman of our country." Another general traveler was William Clarke (1751-1818), Scots advocate, whom Gilbert Meason of Edinburgh says is "going to Paris to see as much as he can in the shortest time." Joel R. Poinsett (1779-1851) in 1819 introduces the Pringle brothers, Edwards and William, and afterwards Edward Pringle introduces a third brother, Robert, with the comment that Warden did so much for him on his European tour he wants Robert to share in the benefits of such able guidance. Dr. David Hosack (1769-1835) of New York commends many friends to Warden's hospitality, including Mr. Ives who wishes to see what is interesting in Europe before he settles down, J. J. Ambler of Virginia who desires general improvement, and Prof. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs, William Graves (young merchant), and David Gardner (Recorder of Troy), all of whom wish to "make the Tour of Europe." Ambler in turn introduces his brothers, Dr. R. C. and

Philip St. George Ambler, "who propose to pass some time in Europe for the purpose of general improvement." One of Warden's women correspondents, Anna Bridgen, introduces John Kane who travels with his wife and her sister "in pursuit of such refined pleasures as may be enjoyed by well educated young people in the possession of an handsome fortune." Dr. John W. Francis (1789-1861) of New York sends to Warden a Mr. Thompson with the comment, "I as is usual with all American's give him a letter to you—." Others who received similar passports to Parisian circles included Lieutenant Levy (U. S. N.), Myron N. Stanley ("a highly respectable merchant" of Baltimore), Humphrey Atherton (lawyer of Philadelphia), Professor Simms (Randolph-Macon College), Professor Frederick Hall (1780-1843), Francis Smith (1806-76) (member of Congress from Maine), the Right Rev. Dr. Richard P. Miles (1791-1860) (Roman Catholic Bishop of Nashville), and George H. Stuart (merchant of Philadelphia).

The largest group of people who were given introductions to Warden were medical students, some of them physicians of experience who wished to learn new methods, others recent graduates who planned additional studies before starting regular practice. Many doctors in the United States recommended pupils and colleagues, and of these Dr. Hosack of New York was the most prolific, sending among others Dr. Alexander H. Stevens (1789-1869), Dr. Valentine Mott (1785-1865), "one of the first surgeons of this day," and Dr. George Common, a private and deserving pupil. Dr. Hosack's son, Dr. Alexander E. Hosack (1805-71), recommends to Warden's "friendly notice" Dr. Charles B. Gibson, son of the professor of surgery at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. John W. Francis introduces Dr. Rumsey and remarks that Paris is chosen (1824) instead of London or Edinburgh because of the actual advantages and the courtesies received. He also sends Dr. Joseph M. Wood, who goes to attend lectures, and Dr. Gunning S. Bedford, who wants to meet the savants of the French metropolis. Dr. James A. Washington introduces Dr. Josiah C. Nott (1804-73) of South Carolina, who sails with his wife and two students. Dr. William James Macneven (1763-1841) also sends a note about Dr. Nott, "the greatest Surgeon" in the United States, who goes to relax after too much toil and monotony. Physicians in all sections followed

the example of those in New York. Dr. John D. Fisher (1797-1850) of Boston, Dr. C. Wistar Pennock of Philadelphia, Dr. J. T. Ducatel of Baltimore, Dr. Robert H. Cabell of Richmond, and Dr. L. A. Dugas of Augusta, Georgia, all recommend members of the medical profession.

People in other walks of life had a share in the introductions of doctors. Joel R. Poinsett writes from Mexico asking Warden's attention to Francis Johnson, son of an old friend, who goes to pursue medical studies, and from Charleston he performs the same service for Lewis Gibbs, apologizing for sending so many young students. General Winfield Scott introduces another young man, Dr. Griffith, and Gulian C. Verplanck (1786-1870) writes concerning his brother who wishes to complete studies in anatomy and surgery. Three citizens of Philadelphia added to the list of those recommended to Warden's interest. Robert M. Patterson (1792-1881), industrialist, introduces Dr. William E. Horner (1793-1853), Caspar Wistar's successor as professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Joseph Cloud, son of a chemist in the U. S. Mint, and Dr. George J. Janeway, his nephew, who founded a dynasty of physicians in New York. J. Francis Fisher (1807-73), publicist and historical student, introduces his cousin, Dr. James Logan Fisher. Alexander D. Bache (1806-67), physicist, introduces Dr. McMillen, recently (1841) on the staff of the army in Florida. Col. Sylvanus Thayer (1785-1872), the military engineer, asks Warden's help for Dr. George C. Shattuck (1813-93), who is about to start his important studies on typhus fever. Dr. Charles T. Jackson (1805-80), Boston chemist and geologist, also writes about Shattuck, who " will of course desire to see the great men of the Institute & some other public institutions to which your introduction will admit him."

Scientists other than medical men were among those who sought Warden's help during visits to Paris. William H. Keating (1799-1840), mineralogical chemist, introduces a scientifically interested young gentleman, William M. Smith. Anthony Morris (1766-1860), merchant, recommends Charles Ellet, Jr. (1810-62), who is interested in civil engineering, a subject which has become (1830) important in the United States. Gulian Verplanck writes concerning Charles Anderson, also going to study civil engineering. Metallurgy had its students, including F. W. Lincoln, manager of a copper refinery at Canton, Massachusetts, who is

introduced by Dr. Jackson, and Edward Grub, who is sent to Warden by Thomas G. Clemson (1807-88), the mining engineer. Dr. Jackson asks assistance for Mr. Gardner, consul at Palermo, and Nicholas Brown (1769-1841), Boston merchant, who want to see the porcelain works at Sevres and the Gobelin tapestry manufactory. Another Bostonian, one of Warden's last visitors, was William Ward, a wholesale druggist who wanted to meet the makers of chemical products and hoped to get a good man to superintend his works. A caller of a slightly different cast was the Hon. Ogden Hoffman (1793-1856), lawyer and member of Congress, who, Dr. Francis says, wishes to see the garden of plants. Dr. John Croghan introduces the son of the ornithologist Audubon, and J. P. Chazal of Charleston describes John Beile's desire to collect data on rice growing. The collegiate world was represented by Professor Farnum of Washington College, introduced by Dr. Henry Vethake (1792-1866), economist, and president of the institution. Dr. A. G. Smith sends to Warden Dr. T. Locke, professor of chemistry in the medical college of Ohio, who is interested in apparatus and laboratories. Clemson introduces Professor William P. C. Barton (1786-1856), of the department of botany at the University of Pennsylvania, and John Bachman (1790-1874), the naturalist, recommends Professor Litton of the department of experimental philosophy at the University of Tennessee.

Literary figures who carried letters of introduction to Warden included John Howard Payne (1791-1852), sponsored by R. G. Beasley in 1815; James Fennimore Cooper (1789-1851), recommended by Col. Thayer in 1826, and William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), introduced by Theodore Allen in 1834. Newspaper editors among the crowd of visitors were Joseph T. Buckingham (1779-1861) of Boston, sent by Albert Gallatin (1761-1849), the financier and diplomat, and Merit M. Robinson of Richmond, introduced by Moncure Robinson (1802-91) the civil engineer. John Locke (1792-1856), the Cincinnati scientist and inventor, introduces Mr. Flakc, an intelligent bookseller of the Ohio metropolis. The Rev. Dr. Stephen Olin (1797-1851), Methodist clergyman and college president, is the subject of encomiums by Dr. Fred Hall as a giant in both body and intellect, and Dr. Albert Smith calls Hiram Powers (1805-73), the sculptor, " one of the greatest men of the age " as he goes in 1837 to study in Italy.

Interesting figures who applied to Warden for assistance represented still other fields of endeavor. Thomas H. Gallaudet (1787-1851) went to France and England for information on the management of institutions for the deaf and dumb, carrying letters from John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) and D. Sears, Jr. The New York Hospital sends Mr. Field in 1818 and Dr. Macdonald in 1831 to visit similar European institutions for the insane. The Rev. Dr. Wilbur Fisk (1792-1839), president of Connecticut Wesleyan, sent to Paris in 1835 for information connected with his college work, and the next year Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-67), newly appointed head of Girard College, visited Europe in its behalf. Among those headed across the ocean for reasons of health were John Hone, son of the famous New York mayor, Dr. Cyrus Perkins of Dartmouth, Lieutenant Slidell, U. S. N., Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, and young Robert Walsh on his way to Italy.

Warden's long residence in Paris, his many connections there, and his willingness to help whenever he could do so made him a natural target for all sorts of requests, and the services he was asked to perform were many and varied. One of the most ordinary functions of this kind was the forwarding of letters from friends in America to correspondents in Europe and the reverse. People of every class and character did not hesitate to enclose under cover any number of epistles to be distributed, often at considerable expense to the accommodating agent. Dolly Madison (1768-1849), the President's wife, was among the first, asking Warden in 1811 to deliver to her brother a letter informing him of his appointment as secretary to Minister Barlow. Mrs. Catharine Cruger, Joshua Dodge, Sr., and Robert Patterson were a few whose letters deal entirely with such matters. The transmittal of letters westward was started in 1811 by Prince Alexandre Kourakin, and the next year William B. Astor (1792-1875) sent a letter from Göttingen where he was a student. Two gentlemen, LeRoy de Chaumont and George Parkman, asked Warden to get their letters from the police. Packages were among the articles sent the ex-consul, including a parcel from Archbishop John Carroll (1735-1815) for the Abbé Garnier and a similar bundle from the Frenchman LeGendre for Mr. Bowditch of Boston.

Books were got and sent to individuals and libraries in America. Warden's important assistance to Jefferson and Sparks has been

noted. In 1810 Robert Walsh (1784-1859) thanks him for selecting works and shipping them to Philadelphia. Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844), the financier and scholar, asks him to get *The Florentine Gallery* handsomely bound, as well as some late Italian airs for harp or piano. B. Henry Latrobe (1806-78), the civil engineer, expresses pleasure at receipt of a translation of Thomas' eulogium. Major John Mercer inquires for information on editions and prices of a work containing Michaux's botanical researches, and Alexander D. Bache asks Warden to get from M. Noriot a list of the best books on topography. John K. Kane (1795-1858), secretary of the American Philosophical Society, John Vaughan, and Bache all express appreciation for the despatch of books, journals, and reports requested. The Pennsylvania Library of Foreign Literature and Science asks Warden to buy works in French, including current literature such as memoirs, poems, biography, travels, romances, etc.

Intercession to expedite business with French officials was another task which Warden was called on to perform. J. Bancroft asks in 1812 to have certain papers pushed through the Council of Paris so his detention may be as brief as possible. William S. Coles writes the same year from Ostend that he was carrying dispatches from London when he was put in prison and wants Warden to procure a passport. Anne Cuvier applies for a passport for Mme. Junker, and Dr. J. P. C. McMahon asks Warden to be a witness to a notarial act before his departure. W. D. Patterson wants a certificate showing American citizenship, and James Swan (1754-1830), financier and agent of the French Republic, sends frequent appeals for aid in getting out of confinement. James Pillans (1778-1864), the Scottish educational reformer, left some maps at his hotel and requests that they be forwarded or replaced. Joseph Priestley (1768-1833), son of the scientist, asks Warden to present to the French government a petition regarding property invested in French funds.

One of the most frequent calls on Warden's time was the request for tickets of admission to séances of the Institute, to art galleries, to libraries, and to special exhibitions. Dr. Robert Baird (1798-1863), Presbyterian clergyman, expresses thanks for tickets for his party. Hugh S. Legaré (1797-1843) says he was much interested in the sessions of the Institute and would like to see more of the learned world during his next trip. Leonard Woods,

Jr. (1807-78), president of Bowdoin College, desires admission to the Institute when a new member is introduced. T. J. Townsend wants to be present at a public sitting of the Academy of Sciences. G. T. D. Taylor asks Warden to get him two or three tickets to the opening of the House of Peers. Dr. S. Olin wishes to see the legislative bodies, but will be satisfied with a visit to the Gallery of the Luxembourg. Anna Bridgen aims to see the pictures in the gallery of Marshal Soult and enlists Warden's help. M. M. Robinson asks for a letter to the librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale. Edward Waln requests a ticket for the ceremony at the Hotel des Invalides in honor of Bellini. A man named Putland is interested in an exhibition of fruits, flowers, and plants.

Education was another field in which Warden assisted. General Mason of Analostan Island, in the District of Columbia, put his son John entirely in the care of the former consul and the latter placed the boy where he could study satisfactorily. Even after young Mason completed the first courses, the father asks advice as to whether John shall continue mathematics instead of civil law. Priestley consults Warden about putting two daughters and a son in school in Paris. Campbell P. White (1787-1859), congressman from New York, states the qualifications required of a French governess and tells Warden to decide on one for his family. N. Atherton inquires the addresses of a good Spanish master and a good dancing master for his daughters.

The great variety of services performed by Warden is shown by a survey of striking cases. C. D. Coxe, consul at Tunis in 1812, asks for an advance of money to relieve him from troubles caused by the Algerian disturbances. James Bankhead wants a sword with silver mounting and silver epaulets. E. & G. W. Blunt direct Warden to buy from Rossier four spyglasses. Capt. John R. Fenwick expects some good wines, gloves, stockings, and trinkets. J. R. Poinsett asks for some books, a good sabre hilt and scabbard, and a pair of colonel's epaulets. George Sampson requests a drawing of a lady in full dress and one in half dress to show his daughter the elegant fashions of the time. Albert Gallatin inquires for information concerning Baron Larey. Samuel F. Jarvis asks for letters of introduction in Italy, especially to friends in Rome. H. P. Van Bibber asks Warden to tell Dr. Taliaferro of Virginia he is in Paris. Major Henry Lee (1787-

1837) wishes an apartment near the Luxembourg, with eight specified rooms. Sir J. Byerley thanks Warden for sending the boy Pierre Delpruet; " he is not an Apollo that is certain but if you can recommend him for honesty sobriety & industry I will try him." Richard Biddle of London wants a copy of a manuscript in the King's Library in Paris and describes a method of transmittal. J. A. Ventress, a citizen of Mississippi writing from Berlin in 1831, asks Warden to send directions for a trip through Greece. J. J. Lloyd Whittemore presents one of the strangest requests, " to support the credit of Harvard University " because when he applied in Paris for exemption from the bachelor's degree, his A. B. and A. M. diplomas from Harvard were rejected.

Warden's literary productions received considerable comment in France, England, and America. He sent copies of his works on consular establishments, on the District of Columbia, and on the United States to important figures in the public life of all the countries, especially to high French government officials. These presentation copies may have been distributed to enhance the author's reputation, to increase his acquaintance and influence, or even to create a sort of propaganda. The collection of notes acknowledging the gifts and commenting thereon is not particularly revealing, but Professor Gilbert Chinard remarks that " as a collection of the great men of France at the time it is probably unique in this country." Among the thirty-nine Frenchmen who received Warden's consular treatise, one finds letters from Bertrand, Brulé, Calmalet, Prince Cambacères, Duc Decrés,, Defermon, Fabbroni, Bishop Grégoire, Hottinguer, Lescalier, Mercier, Prévost, Riviere, G. B. Say, Svertchkoff, Talleyrand, Thouin, and Count Wintsingerod. The Chamberlain to the Empress Josephine, De Viel Castel, expresses eagerness to present a copy to her. General Walterstorff thinks the material presented will be extremely useful at a general peace when commercial relations will have to be fixed on a uniform basis. Ten more communications come from such scattered spots as Amsterdam, Glasgow, Hamburg, Liverpool, Naples, and Vienna, and several authorities—notably Bourne, Castilho Barreto, and Schwarz—offer assistance in further studies along the same line.

Next in chronological order are three letters, 1814-15, from Macvey Napier (1776-1847) of Edinburgh concerning Warden's article on America for the famous supplement to the fifth edition

of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, the first departure from insularity to include eminent foreign contributors. There are two letters from Gilbert L. Meason of London about the publication of Warden's work on the United States. The first (1817) reports Longman's refusal to issue a large book on America and suggests trying Constable in Edinburgh. The second (1820) notes that Constable has lost £6-700 on the issue and goes on to comment that nothing except light reading succeeds; even Scott's novels are in abatement, and voyages and travels are on top. Joseph Priestley writes (1817) on the same general topic, remarking that the methods of publication are either to sell the copyright for £300 or to retain it and have an advance from the publisher. Among the notes of thanks for gifts of copies of the work on the United States are communications from Botta Cuvier, Noyer, Pichon, Talleyrand, and Frances Wright.

In addition to buying books and journals as agents for libraries and societies, Warden often presented these institutions with copies of his own works and with odd volumes which came into his hands. The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia was a frequent recipient of such gifts, including Calect's *Tables of Logarithms*, a volume on a voyage to Thebes, an atlas of ancient and modern history, works on agriculture, female education, and hospitals, and a large group of pamphlets. Harvard College, through J. F. Kirkland, president of the corporation, and Josiah Quincy, president of the college itself, renders thanks for scientific treatises, Greek and German works, and various pamphlets. The Institut de France received additions to its collections in the historical and scientific sections, and the Academie Royale was supplied with the transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The Literary Society of Caen, the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and the Society of Antiquaries in London all express appreciation of Warden's donations.

It would be surprising if there were not among the Warden Papers some letters dealing with the sale of the two large libraries collected in Paris. The mass of correspondence with Isaiah Townsend on the subject has been discussed. The remaining items are few and routine, but they do cast some light on Warden's method of procedure. He compiled catalogues of his collections and distributed printed copies to all who he thought might have influence in the purchase of the libraries. Evidently the first such issue was

made in May 1820, for in that month Sir John Byerley says he will have it mentioned in the English journals, but he fears no individual will put out £2-3000 on one project and no public library possesses sufficient funds. A few days later, L. M. Revelliere-lépeaux promises to call the matter to the attention of all connoisseurs, and G. B. Say says he will mention it during his public lectures. The second catalogue must have gone out in 1832, for in that year both Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard, and Augustus de Morgan of London acknowledge receipt of copies. Nine years later, in 1841, Benjamin F. French of New Orleans offers to purchase the books for $3000 as a basis for a free city library. The offer was not accepted, and in January 1844 Lydia H. Sigourney (1791-1865), the authoress of Hartford, inquires the price, thinking the new athenaeum should have it. Three months afterward, Dr. Charles Brooks (1813-83), the Unitarian clergyman, writes from Boston that he thought he had a sale to the Atheneum at Providence, but the business fell through and " I am out of all patience at the stupidity of our people in these matters." By May the negotiations with the New York State Library had begun, and George Bancroft (1800-91), the historian, hopes the deal will be successful. In July and August, Robert Walsh, the journalist who was consul general in Paris and who represented the New York authorities, sends several inquiries about the pecuniary value of the collection. Finally, in April 1845, Peter Wendell, the chancellor of the board of regents, officially notifies Warden of the purchase of the library and gives the text of the bill authorizing that move.

Warden's wide range of interests is shown especially well in his correspondence on scientific subjects. There are letters on silk culture and the growth of tobacco, and Dr. F. Wurdemann of Charleston discusses at length in 1836 grape culture and wine making in the United States. The same year, Jesse Buel (1778-1839) of Albany describes a recently incorporated school for practical and theoretical agriculture and says he prints 25,000 copies of the *Cultivator*, the journal he conducts. Dr. John Croghan of Louisville says in May, 1839, that he would ship nuts from the buckeye tree if it were the proper season. In 1840 Henry Pinkus of Philadelphia sends a pamphlet on a new system of farming and tells how one Samuel Cliff pirated the method under the pretense of promoting it.

Dr. William J. MacNeven, professor at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York and owner of the first chemical laboratory in that city, writes often on matters concerned with chemistry. At different times he wants chemical journals, a syllabus of lectures at German universities, and a chest of reagents. In 1824 he asks Warden to find a young man who will serve as chemical assistant to carry on tests on minerals, with abundant laboratory space and $400 a year. W. D. Patterson inquires for details regarding artificial soup. Dr. John Campbell White of Baltimore is interested in distilling potatoes and making farina, and Dr. Thomas Cooper (1759-1839), professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and one of the outstanding scientists of the day, wants a supply of iodine and potassium. In 1827 Dr. Sheldon requests Warden to allow M. de Mirbel to consult a copy of Lovell's register of thermometrical observations in the United States, and in 1841 Benjamin Peirce of Cambridge asks for a report on Espy's theory of storms.

Mineralogy was another field covered, and there are letters from the agriculturist Buel, the painter Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), and several lesser figures on the subject of rocks and stones. In 1820 Dr. Felix Pascalis (c. 1750-1833), the French-born physician who practiced in New York, introduces Ezra Weeks, who carries a group of mineralogical specimens to trade with the Parisian savants. Later, in 1841, Warden is instrumental in shipping to Francis Markoe, Jr., secretary of the National Institute in Washington, a small collection of minerals gathered by the French Ministry of Public Works. Somewhat akin to these matters are archaeological remains, and the diplomat Poinsett comments in 1834 on mounds in the Mississippi Valley, while Dr. John C. Warren of Boston writes in 1840 concerning skulls found in Peruvian mounds.

Warden's medical correspondents naturally discussed some things connected with their profession. In 1808 William Sinclair of Baltimore recommends the work of Dr. John Crawford, a candidate for the prize offered by the Emperor Napoleon for the best treatise on croup, and two years later Crawford himself discusses his ideas on the seat and cause of disease, saying he remains undiscouraged in spite of the fact they are considered visionary and extreme. Dr. John Campbell White, also of Baltimore, thanks Warden for a medical dictionary and a stethoscope. Dr.

A. G. Smith of Louisville describes medicine in Kentucky and tells about some interesting operations, concluding with proposals for a medical journal in that part of the world. Robert J. Tennant of Belfast inquires the method of election of the professors in the French medical schools, and Dr. Richard Harlan (1796-1843), the Philadelphia physician whose principal field of investigation was vertebrate paleontology, expresses interest in Cuvier's anatomy. A letter from A. Spencer of New York reports the dispatch of a gallon of Balston mineral water, and one from M. Delambre of the Institut de France also concerns water with medicinal qualities.

Miscellaneous scientific topics ranged over wide grounds. Dr. Edward Miller (1760-1812), one of the first professors at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, speaks in 1808 of the great changes to come from the extension of knowledge of electricity. Dr. John Bullus of New York is engaged in the manufacture of powder and in 1812 he wants from France an assistant who is a good refiner of saltpetre and who knows how to make powder with little expense. In 1820 George W. Murray, likewise a citizen of New York, says he was persuaded by the Frenchman Isnard to change the system of making white lead and to adopt that used at Clichy. He spent $25,000 and after three years still has inadequate works. He asks Warden to procure helpful information, and puts nine definite questions to be answered. Some time later, in 1838, Dr. A. D. Spoor of Troy asks Warden to see about getting a patent in France for a model of a stove for burning anthracite coal and coke. The next year R. Church comments on Fulton and his steamboat, saying it was after the successful experiment on the Clyde, but was an independent development. Other communications concern the dying of silk and an inclined plane.

General remarks on the development of science are interesting. As early as 1810, Richard Cheneviry speaks of the extraordinary spirit of scientific enquiry in England, and mentions the fact that the Royal Institution has raised £10,000 by subscription for its work. In 1824 William Cooper of New York asks Warden's assistance in establishing a close intercourse between the savants in Paris and the men of science in the American metropolis. Later, Joel Poinsett describes the establishment in Washington of a national institution for the promotion of science, and asks

Warden to help in the collection of geological and mineralogical specimens.

Warden received a number of communications on literary subjects. One of his prominent correspondents in this field was Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), Bishop of Blois, who sent more than a score of notes on a variety of subjects. Among the topics mentioned are the literature of the Negroes, the Quakers, the grand canal in New York, and the Protestant sects in France. In 1826 he comments on some of Warden's writings and suggests the insertion of critical notes to show comparisons of old with new orators. John Howard Payne's letters are much to the point. In 1815 he suggests a republication of Michaux's work on the trees of America with a translation by Warden. In 1836 he describes the start of his new literary venture, a magazine for the advancement of art, science, and belles-lettres, and asks Warden to act as literary agent in Paris. Three years later, Payne says he looked up Warden's work on Mexican antiquities and found it expensive. " This is the age for *cheap* literature; no other prospers," he remarks, possibly as a result of his own experience.

John Pinkerton (1758-1826), Scots antiquary and historian, wrote at considerable length during 1805-15. He is glad to hear " any striking literary news at Paris," and he asks for material and maps to be used in his work. He discusses the progress of his geography, mentions plans for an American edition, and says the finished product " is as much superior to the first [edition] as the first was found to be to other books of the kind." He comments on a quarrel with Humboldt and criticizes the naturalist as having " a strong dose of quackery," but wants his maps even if they have great faults. He speaks caustically of Malte Brun and the carelessness of his translators, and he thinks Warden's version of Grégoire's work not sufficiently interesting for publication. He believes American literature must have its infancy before it gains maturity, and he thinks the principal object should be to lure Europeans to settle in the United States.

Another view of the American literary scene is expressed by Mrs. Harrison Smith in 1828. She writes: " The estimation of an author at home, depends very much on his estimation abroad, which naturally excites the solicitude of authors to be known & approved on your side of the Atlantic." M. C. Paterson holds a more encouraging opinion, mentioning some of the productions

of New York men, including the *North American Review*, Dr. Jarvis' discourse on the Indians, Irving's *Sketch Book*, and Trumbull's poems. The newspaper field draws fire, however, from B. Irvine, who starts in 1815 to conduct the *Columbian* in New York, then returns to Baltimore and comments in 1817 on the degraded state of a press where all papers east of the mountains, except the *Aurora*, are under partisan influences. On the other hand, Dr. Niles lists with pride the papers printed in Boston in 1828: *Daily Advertiser, Boston Patriot, Boston Courier, American Statesman*, and ten weekly or half-weekly papers.

Several editors of papers and journals want Warden to serve as correspondent. One of the earliest is David Lyons of Belfast, who speaks in 1806 of publishing a periodical with Warden among the regular contributors. In 1835 J. B. Van Schaick of Albany suggests correspondence running to a column each packet with a payment of five hundred francs a year. Three months later, John Wilks asks Warden's support for a new paper, the *London and Paris Courier*, and wants his assistance in the conduct of the American section. Some writers, including Thomas C. Grattan (1792-1864) and Richard Biddle, send Warden copies of their works, hoping he may get them reviewed in the literary journals. Others wish to see their masterpieces in French, and Henry McCormac (1800-86), the Irish physician, goes so far as to list twenty-two corrections to be made if Warden finds a translator for his *Philosophy of Human Nature*. F. C. Gray of London asks Warden to make any necessary changes in a memoir of Dr. Bowditch, and Constantine Samuel Rafinesque (1783-1840), the naturalist, sends an essay to be offered for a prize at the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Many assorted volumes were showered on Warden as gifts from the authors or as material which might help in his own work. Helen Maria Williams (1762-1827), the authoress, sends translations of her rhymes and also a copy of *Letters* written in 1819. Robert Mohl of Tubingen presents a copy of the *Judicial Review* of which he is editor. Dr. Joseph Sargent of Worcester sends a history of Maine, a volume on American archaeology, and the ninth volume of Spark's *American Biography*. C. Monbret is responsible for a work on Birkbeck's voyage in Ohio and Illinois. Henry Carey (1793-1879), the Philadelphia economist and publisher, sends two copies of his work on political economy.

Even original source materials found their way to Warden's hands. General James Wilkinson (1757-1825) forwards some maps in 1811, and Dr. Wurdemann sends several pages of words from the Creek language copied from the journal of an officer at Fort Mitchell in Alabama. From Guatemala, Col. Juan Galinda transmits an original manuscript by Juarros. Joseph E. Worcester (1784-1865), geographer and historian, sends copies of the *American Almanac* as they appear each year.

Miscellaneous literary correspondents include Samuel B. Wylie (1773-1852), Philadelphia clergyman who had studied at Glasgow with Warden, who is interested in Oriental literature; Samuel Mitchell (1764-1831), medical teacher and member of Congress, who discusses works on military systems and statistics; and H. DeMontmorency-Morres, who wishes to contact another writer on his own subject, the topography of Ireland. These serve as one more indication of the amazing versatility of the Irish-American who lived in Paris.

(*To be concluded*)

BOOK REVIEWS

Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command. By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. Volume I, Manassas to Malvern Hill. New York: Scribner, 1942. lvi, 773 pp. $5.00.

It took industry, knowledge, and ability in ample measures to produce this work; and the reviewer is confident that no one other than Dr. Freeman possesses the combined qualifications for the task which he plans to complete in three such installments. In this volume we find nearly eight hundred pages of narrative and descriptive exposition covering somewhat over a year's military operations centered in Virginia. There are forty-three chapters, not a few of which would tempt a commentator to expand after the manner of the reviews that adorned the pages of the British magazines in the days of Macaulay.

After the technical observation that Dr. Freeman has written the last, or certainly the latest, words on the campaigns in question, the reviewer's advice to the general reader taking alarm over an historical product of this magnitude is that he first consider the titles of the various chapters and select his units for reading, one at a time. Having thus tested the style, he is likely to start at the beginning and follow through. For reasons of his own this reviewer opened at the descriptive narrative of Stuart's first ride around McClellan, turning next to the author's analysis of " The Enigma of Jackson's State of Mind," which caused that usual thunder-bolt of war to begin his direct association with Lee very much as Longstreet continued it thereafter; that is, on the tardy basis which lost two opportunities to turn the tide at Gettysburg. That Lee, in a military sense, seemed ready to pardon the unpardonable and excuse the inexcusable in Longstreet's repeated disobediences may have been due to the fact that Longstreet fought when Jackson nodded as Lee took command at Richmond.

Dr. Freeman's exposition tends to confirm the belief that Jackson would not have been successful as commander-in-chief. The author goes further, however, and not only leaves Jackson's military reputation somewhat tarnished, but presents, in addition, a by no means pleasing portrayal of Jackson the man.

One regrets a sense of unbalance in the initial thumbnail sketches of Confederate leaders. In some instances these do the author injustice as well as the subjects thus briefly treated; for minor points of disparagement are thrown out of proportion. The bald statement in a sketch of one hundred and fifty words that General Stuart had " a loud, exhibitionist manner " creates at the outset a fundamentally false impression of a gallent soul full of humor and an almost boyish exuberance. Having editorially misinterpreted liveliness of spirit for sheer love of showing off, the author on several occasions in his narrative takes himself into Stuart's mind and unhistorically records with historical data that which he thinks Stuart was thinking with respect to the public impression this alleged exhibitionist

was making or was about to make. It is unfortunate that these blemishes of construction should have had a foreword spot in a volume that must have required Carlyle's "genius" to create; namely, "the transcendant capacity for taking trouble."

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By ELLEN HART SMITH. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. 340 pp. $3.75.

Miss Smith has written one of the most interesting and readable biographies dealing with an elder American statesman. She describes events in such a way that the reader does not realize he is delving into the tangled web of eighteenth century politics. Such things as Carroll's controversy with Daniel Dulany the Younger and the Conway Cabal are set forth so well that one enjoys the accounts as if they were stories. The matter of the opposition to Roman Catholics in public life and Carroll's success in rising above the obstacles it entailed is handled admirably.

The writer has drawn in the backgrounds of her narrative with unusual skill. Only in the next to last chapter, covering the period of Carroll's life after his retirement from official position, are there certain dull spots; and these may be due to the difficulty of relating Carroll to events in which he had no part. The Annapolitan scene during the periods of the Revolution and the Confederation is pictured with interesting detail, emphasizing the fact that the town was the cultural and social capital of the era.

Miss Smith's researches have included a wide variety of manuscript sources, and she admits in her Bibliography her dependence on the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Her style is clear and smooth, and even the side remarks of an editorial nature do not irritate the reader as such things often do. There are no sharp criticisms of anybody—see, for instance, the rather unconventional attitude toward Citizen Genêt (p. 252)—and there is no fulsome praise. The result is a well balanced historical study, not too solid and not too light, and written with considerable literary style.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Catalogue of Archival Material, Hall of Records, State of Maryland (Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 2). Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1942. 161 pp.

This is the first complete catalogue of manuscript materials in the Hall of Records of the State of Maryland. An Introduction by the Archivist, Dr. Morris L. Radoff, explains the purpose and method of the catalogue. The materials are arranged under eleven topical heads, such as "Executive," "Military," or "Church Records," and newspapers are included as a separate division. Wherever useful, each group of records is prefaced by a brief account of the office which created them, by pertinent comment on the history of the papers themselves, and by mention of the most important references on which these preliminary statements are based. Accession numbers are given after the sub-groups or individual documents. There is a Table of Contents but no Index.

An Index is omitted because " an index to records whose contents are not analyzed is of small value and such an index would have required an exorbitant expenditure of time and effort." Unquestionably, Dr. Radoff's decision was a wise one in so far as a detailed index is concerned, but the student may wonder whether the value of the work would not have been enhanced by a brief, name-place index. People interested in Harford County, for example, would have known at a glance that materials concerning Harford County shareholders in Maryland corporations may be found under TAX COMMISSION, *Miscellaneous*; those concerned with William and Mary College would quickly discover the *Alumni Gazette* of the school under MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS FROM PRIVATE SOURCES, Addison, Miss Virginia. Nevertheless, the quest for practicality which explains the omission of an Index is a striking virtue of the catalogue. Convention and uniformity, simply for their own sake, are avoided, and its intelligent plan achieves clarity and completeness in a minimum of pages.

In the last decade the importance of local history as the bedrock of our national history has been increasingly recognized. This catalogue brings new utility, and utility for many more people, to the productive workshop of local history at Annapolis.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

Princeton University

These Chesapeake Men. By GILBERT BYRON. North Montpelier, Vt.: Driftwind Press, 1942. 170 pp. $2.00.

The truth that the best literary material is to be found, not far off but close at hand, has never been better emphasized than in Gilbert Byron's recent book, *These Chesapeake Men.* In these poems we are introduced familiarly to the broad Chesapeake, and to its tributary rivers and flat tidewater lands. Places seldom visited, and to many little more than names, leap into sudden prominence—St. Michaels, Crisfield and remote Tangier. We voyage in sailing craft of varied description—skiffs, shallops, schooners, sloops, bugeyes, dories—and touch at wharves where herons and kingfishers perch and where nets are drying. We hear the honk of geese overhead, as the old bridge-tender turns in his bed and listens in the dead of night. And with full sails set we skim over the azure waters with the salt breeze in our faces.

These are but the setting for the personalities which the poems reveal to us—sun-tanned captains of fishing boats, slow of speech but sound in sense; who in leisure hours sit in the sun, whittling, smoking, chewing and conversing. Everywhere there look out from the pages of the book men and women of strong and rugged individuality. And everywhere there is the tang of fish and crabs, as we voyage into bays and inlets among a population that draws its sustenance principally from the waters.

The book is reminiscent of Chesapeake history. We stand on decaying wharves and witness in imagination the trade of colonial days, when the laden ships departed for England to bring back luxuries for the wealthy owners of plantations. We live dramatically in the strife between the

dredgers and the State of Maryland over the right to exploit the oyster beds. And we are among the passengers on the crowded *Emma Giles* as she sails past Fort McHenry and Fort Carroll on her Sunday afternoon excursions.

In a brief review it is scarcely possible to dwell upon the charm of particular poems, but we mention as especially appealing "The Fisherman's Wife" which is reminiscent of Kingsley's "Three Fishers." And for sheer dramatic quality it would be difficult to exceed the climax of "Captain Billy and the Lady," wherein, after an argument in which she orders him to take his boat away from her landing, he bows and with extreme politeness says:

"You damn codfish aristocrat,
"You don't own the Chesapeake"

The water-colors by Jack Lewis, with which the pages are illustrated, add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume.

B. Latrobe Weston

Maryland's 117th Trench Mortar Battery in the World War, 1917-1919. By Henry D. Stansbury. Baltimore: Maryland Chapter, Rainbow Division Veterans, 1942. 142 pp. Illustrated.

Perhaps this is as good an account as can be found of the process of making a soldier. In straightforward and, praise God, honest language Mr. Stansbury tells how 189 (counting replacements) carefree and decidedly unpredictable boys were converted into a seasoned fighting unit. What kind of soldiers they made is revealed by the record: participation in four important actions; 4 killed, 34 wounded; and 17 citations—nearly ten per cent of the roster!

The brilliant record of the Battery is too well known to need praise at this late date. What this book vividly reveals is the point of view of the average soldier as he prepares for battle and takes his part in it. Here are no heroics and no glossing of the realities. Some of the yarns are tops. An account that rings true on every page, it does credit to the writer as well as to the famous Battery. Thanks to the excellent sketches of Clinton C. Davidson, the atmosphere of the War days is doubly recreated.

James W. Foster

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Gosney Family Records, 1740-1940, and Related Families. By Georgia Gosney Wisda [n. p., n. d.] 325 pp.

The First Air Voyage in America [Jean Paul Blanchard, 1793]. By Carroll Frey [With Reprint of Blanchard's] *Journal of My Forty-fifth Ascension.* Philadelphia: Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1943. 60, 27 pp.

The Interpretation of History. By Jacques Barzun, Hajo Holborn, Herbert Heaton, Dumas Malone and George LaPiana. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. 186 pp. $2.50.

NOTES

Exhibitions of the Society

In addition to the various permanent exhibits, installed in the gallery, library, print room and the sixteen rooms and halls of the old building, the Society has held during the winter three displays of interesting material. The McKim Collection, gathered principally from the recent donations of Mrs. W. Duncan McKim with important items previously received from Mrs. Emilie McKim Reid and Mr. William Power Wilson, will remain indefinitely on view in the first floor room where it was installed in 1942. In connection with these portraits, articles of furniture, silver and china, received from three branches of the McKim family over a period of 20 years, it is of interest to note the receipt some months ago of a related item from another source. Among the portraits given in 1941 by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim was one of Isaac McKim, who, in 1833 built the super-Baltimore clipper *Ann McKim*, which astounded the world by her elegance of construction and speedy performances. She was built at Fells Point by Kennard and Williamson, from whose records the Society received in 1942 time books covering the very years of the vessel's construction, and consequently furnishing data not previously available regarding this ship. These books were presented by Mr. B. F. Williamson, as previously reported, through the good offices of Mr. Marion V. Brewington.

The various portraits and other paintings, diaries and account books, presented from time to time during his lifetime by Mr. H. Oliver Thompson and others received as a bequest under his will, were exhibited during the month of February in the large gallery and attracted much attention. They comprised 50 portraits and miniatures of the Oliver family of Greenmount—also a large pastel of the Greenmount residence—and of the Oliver family of Clifton, now Clifton Park. One of the account books of Robert Oliver's business dates from the spring of 1781 and includes a transaction in connection with supplies furnished Lafayette for his troops when they passed through Baltimore on the way to the South. This was the occasion when the ballroom in which the Marquis was entertained was turned overnight into a sewing room in order to furnish clothing to his ill-clad men. Lafayette's letter of thanks (see Scharf's *Chronicles*) mentions his particular obligation to the ladies whose hands had literally helped to clothe his army.

Portraits of Washington and the Berkley Collection of Washington prints, together with portraits of Washington's Revolutionary associates and letters of Washington, all from the Society's collections, were featured on February 22nd when the buildings of the Society were open from 3 to 6 P. M., and for a week thereafter.

Memorabilia of Otto Sutro and of the Wednesday Club which he founded, gathered by his daughters, Misses Rose L. and Ottilie Sutro, were presented to the Society on February 24 and are on view in a room on

an upper floor of the old building. The history of the Club and some data regarding the exhibit are to be found elsewhere in this issue of the *Magazine*.

Other recent gifts to the Society, shown in the gallery early in March, were items from the bequest of Mrs. Mattie Maddox Key, of Washington, D. C.; a portrait of Benjamin Gwinn Harris, silver urn presented to Purser Gwinn Harris by the officers of the Navy, a handsome patchwork quilt, Adam chair, mahogany card table, cut glass decanters and other Key and Harris family objects; etchings and manuscripts from the estate of Judge Carroll T. Bond, and miniatures and other portraits of members of the Lucas family from Miss Ethel White.

Selections from the Calvert Papers, purchased for the Society in England in 1888 and one of its most treasured possessions, will be exhibited the latter part of March in connection with the Society's observance of Maryland Day, the 309th anniversary of the arrival of the Ark and the Dove at St. Mary's.

During April some of the Society's interesting letters written by Thomas Jefferson will be shown coincidentally with the Nation's observance of the 200th anniversary of his birth.

Contributors to this Number

The *Magazine* is fortunate to be able to present the brief retrospect which Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, retired professor of medicine of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, gave before the Society some months ago. ☆ Dr. Ronald T. Abercrombie, director emeritus of physical education of Johns Hopkins University, is a widely known practicing physician of Baltimore. ☆ Joseph Towne Wheeler, has lately been referred to here in connection with the series of articles he has contributed. ☆ Mr. Henry C. Forman, who holds the Corner chair in fine arts at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, has twice had grants from the American Council of Learned Societies for archaeological work in St. Mary's County. ☆ Miss Ottilie Sutro, who writes of her father and the Club which owed its existence to him, is a musician who, with her sister, Miss Rose L. Sutro, gave with great success duo-piano recitals in the leading cities of America and Europe. ☆ Frequently a contributor to the *Magazine*, William D. Hoyt, Jr., has recently been a member of the teaching staff of Governor Dummer Academy in Massachusetts.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 14, 1942. The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held this evening. Mr. Marye read a list of a very interesting group of articles which has just been bequeathed to the Society by Mrs. Mattie M. Key, of Washington, D. C.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Dorothy M. Banks
Dr. W. H. Harrison Bixler
Mrs. William J. A. Bliss
Mr. W. L. Brann
Mr. Lloyd A. Brown
Mr. John E. Dempster
Mr. Joseph Fax
Mr. T. H. Hanford Hopkins
Mrs. Harry E. Houck
Mr. Frederic C. Lane
Mr. Jerome K. Meyer
Mrs. Malcolm N. Oates
Mr. G. Harvey Porter
Mr. Arthur P. Sewell
Mr. M. J. Sullivan
Mr. D. Stuart Webb

The death of Dr. Walter R. Steiner, in November last, was reported.

Mr. John H. Scarff reported briefly on the valuable gifts, relating to the McKim family of Baltimore, presented to the Society by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim of Washington. The items included portraits, silver, china, and miscellaneous articles of uncommon interest which were displayed on the first floor of the Society's building.

Judge Samuel K. Dennis, the speaker of the evening, was presented by Mr. Griswold. Judge Dennis, well known to the members, gave a most interesting talk entitled "Eastern Shore Worthies." This address embraced sketches of the most noted personalities who were born or lived on the Eastern Shore. A rising vote of thanks was extended to the Judge for his delightful talk.

January 11, 1943. At a regular meeting of the Society President Radcliffe was in the chair. The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Edith Miller
Mr. John O. White
Mr. Harry E. Karr
Mr. Jules Chodak
Miss Dena Cohen
Mrs. George L. Radcliffe
Mrs. Emily R. Williams
Mrs. John A. Crane
Mrs. Bruce Wylie
Mrs. A. Brown Caldwell
Mr. Charles P. Crane

Associate

G. W. Crist, Jr.
Lt. Col. H. C. Harrison, Jr.
Mrs. Forrest Close
Mrs. W. Duncan McKim

Mr. James E. Hancock took the chair and accepted the nominations for the officers, chairmen and members of the various committees, to be elected at the Annual Meeting on February 8.

Mr. Edward D. Martin, President of the Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association, extended an invitation to the members of the Society to be present at a Memorial Service, marking the 100th anniversary of the death of Francis Scott Key, at St. Paul's Church, Sunday, January 17, 1943.

The following deaths among our members were reported: Dr. Nicholas L. Dashiell, on January 8, 1943; Dr. Elmer B. Freeman, on December 15, 1942; Norman Bentley Gardiner, on December 16, 1942; Charles Cox Hopper, on January 11, 1943; Mrs. Harris H. Horner, on November 15, 1942 (associate); Mrs. Frank E. Jennings, on June —, 1942 (associate); Dr. Howard A. Kelly, on January 12, 1943; Mrs. Edwain S. Martin, on October —, 1942 (associate); E. McNeal Shannahan, on November 18, 1942.

Mr. Griswold introduced Major General Milton A. Reckord, who gave a most timely and interesting talk on "Maryland's Contribution to the War Effort." A vote of thanks was given General Reckord for his able summary of Maryland's participation in the present conflict.

February 8, 1943. The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening, President Radcliffe presiding.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss M. Virginia Gillette
Mr. William T. Childs
Mr. Thomas W. Pangborn
Mr. Neal A. Sibley
Mr. Richard A. Froehlinger
Mr. Charles T. LeViness
Mr. Louis N. Phipps
Mrs. Johnson Garrett
Mr. Lee L. Dopkin
Mr. W. Brewer Joyce
Mr. Roy B. White
Mrs. Ford K. Brown
Miss Catherine C. Gaule
Mr. James H. Grove, Jr.
Mrs. Walter C. Bacon
Mrs. George Zouck
Mr. Arunah S. A. Brady
Miss Florence J. Kennedy
Dr. James Graham Marston
Mr. Jerome Sloman
Mr. Elias H. Nuttle
Mr. G. H. Pouder
Mr. John McC. Mowbray
Mr. Gustav Herzer, Jr.
Mr. Morris A. Mechanic
Mr. William Calvert Steuart
Mrs. Gordon Johnston
Mr. S. Marvin Peach
Mr. Charles H. Wagner
Senator Wilmer C. Carter
Dr. Leslie N. Gay
Mrs. Joseph F. Betterley
Mrs. George H. Rowe
Mr. John Kennedy
Hon. James E. Boylan
Mr. Randolph Mordecai
Mrs. William F. Bevan
Senator Millard E. Tydings

Associate

Mrs. Otis W. Swainson Mrs. Palmer Hall Cushman

Life Member

Mr. Charles P. McCormick

The following deaths were reported: Hon. Carroll T. Bond, on January 18, 1943; Mr. Maxwell Cathcart, on January 15, 1943; Mr. William Ingle, on January 15, 1943; Dr. John Donaldson Murray, on January 29, 1943; Mrs. George Washington Slocum (May A. Turner), on February 2, 1943; Mr. James Price Winchester, on January 27, 1943.

The President announced that the nominees for membership numbered 150 the largest group on record at a meeting of the Society, and stated that this was due to the very able efforts of Judge Dennis who alone nominated 110 new members. Judge Henry D. Harlan's motion that the sincere thanks of the Society be extended to Judge Dennis for the very remarkable achievements in his personal campaign for new members was carried.

The guest speaker, Miss Josephine McC. Fisher, gave a delightful and interesting account of " Bennett Allen, the Fighting Parson." The thanks of the Society were extended to Miss Fisher by a rising vote.

Dr. Pleasants gave a brief talk on the H. Oliver Thompson Collection of portraits and miniatures which are on display as a special exhibit in the main gallery.

February 8, 1943. The Annual Meeting was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. On request of the President Mr. James E. Hancock presided during the election.

The Secretary was instructed by vote to cast the ballot for the list of officers and members of standing committees as previously nominated. The names of those elected were then announced (printed elsewhere in this issue of the Magazine).

Mr. Radcliffe resumed the chair and gave a sketch of the activities of the Society during the past year, and referred to the plans for the current year.

REPORTS FOR 1942

Report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum

The first year of operation of the new central steam service in lieu of the worn-out coal burning furnace has given complete satisfaction, though the increase in cost will for several years exceed the annual expense of the old system. The alloted funds were insufficient to cover the year's expenses, but this is largely offset by the saving of the wages of a furnace man, budgeted in the general expenses of the Society. No other unusual expenses were incurred.

Budget Allowance		$2,000.00
Heating	$1,268.35	
Charge for installation paid as monthly interest	633.49	
	1,901.84	1,901.84
Insurance		158.50
American District Telegraph		448.56
Water Rent		41.50
Light		207.06
Miscellaneous repairs		94.90
Janitor supplies		100.49
		$2,952.85

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on the Gallery

Among interesting additions to the Society's large collection of portraits and objects were the following:

Doll which once belonged to Hannah Ann Smith (1821-1899), daughter of Mathew & Catherine Marsh Smith (Quakers). Hannah Ann (Mrs. James Edmondson Atkinson of Easton) was grandmother of the donor, Mrs. Philip Gardner.

Portraits of William Baker (1750-1815), and his wife, Anna Burneston (1756-—— of Frederick) married in Baltimore September 11, 1780. Gift of Miss Sophia Anna Graves, through Miss Anna Melissa Graves.

Photograph of Thomas Marsh Forman, of Rose Hill, Cecil Co. and of his second wife, Martha Browne Ogle (1788-1864), great uncle and aunt of the donor, Miss Mary Forman Day.

Silver candelabra, walnut bookcase, and Governor Ritchie medal, gifts of Mrs. Julius Friedenwald.

Two views of "Melville Park," presented by Miss Florence Van Rensselaer.

Portraits of Dr. Edward Yerbury Goldsborough, and of his wife, Margaret Schley Goldsborough. Gifts of Mrs. Richard M. Duvall.

From Mrs. W. Duncan McKim the following additions to the large collection of portraits and silver presented last year: 43-piece dinner set with green band and crest of McKim family in colors; silver coffee, cream and sugar, pitcher, bowl, butter dish, salts and peppers, 3 trays, serving dish and cover, 2 candlesticks, and 44 pieces of table silver, all McKim family pieces; Birckhead family silver, consisting of 6 each of serving spoons, dessert spoons, teaspoons, large old Colonial spoons; 7 silver mugs belonging to the McKim children, childrens' knife and fork sets; 2 rare glass vases and other pieces.

Bequeathed by Mrs. Mattie M. Key were, among many items: silver urn presented in 1830 to Purser Gwinn Harris upon his retirement from the Navy; silver card tray with Key coat-of-arms; alabaster clock; bed warmer; quilt and sampler made by Marie Louise Harris Key; pudding dish; 2 bowls; 2 cut glass decanters with silver coasters; glass bowl presented to Susan Ruth Harris Maddox when at Barnum's Hotel about 1856; mahogany card table with carved legs; hall light which belonged to John Francis Harris of Baltimore; Adam chair; portraits of Joseph Harris, 1773-1855; Benjamin Gwinn Harris, 1806-1895, his son; Martha Elizabeth Harris, his son's wife; and Susan Ruth Harris Maddox, their daughter.

John H. Scarff, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on the Library

Important additions to the MS collections were received during the year. The more notable ones were the following:

Account book of the treasurer of Washington Academy, Princess Anne, beginning in 1784, kept by Col. George Handy, and three other account books, presented by Miss Caroline M. Crisfield.

Diaries of James H. McHenry, 1840-1890, and three scrapbooks, presented by Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark.

Four account books of the Kennard and Williamson shipbuilding firm of Fells Point, and part of a diary of J. J. Williamson, from Mr. Bernard F. Williamson.

Plats of Col. John Eager Howard's city property as divided after his death, deeds, account books and other papers relating to the estate; correspondence between F. S. Key and John Randolph of Roanoke; letters of Roger Brooke Taney; Bibles of Charles Howard, and Elizabeth Maynadier; from the estate of Charles McHenry Howard.

Bible of John Eager Howard, from Miss Mary Howard Lloyd.

Account book of Baltimore merchant, 1756-1760, from estate of Mrs. A. B. Bibbins.

Letter of Thomas Jefferson, 1791, from Mr. L. Manuel Hendler.

Miscellaneous MSS from the Misses Corner.

"Chronicles of the U. S. S. *Lanakai*," by Commander Kemp Tolley, from Lt. Col. O. T. Tolley. The latter also presented a transcript of the vestry records of St. James P. E. Church, My Lady's Manor, 1821-1875.

Original MS of *The British Invasion of Maryland*, by W. M. Marine, from his daughter, Miss Harriet Marine.

Papers relating to the McAll Mission and French Relief in World War I, from Miss Lucy T. Latane.

Business papers of Fielder C. Israel of Baltimore, anonymously presented.

Papers of the Merryman family from Miss Laura Merryman; Brewer family from Dr. Charles Brewer, of Bradenton, Florida; McKim family from Mrs. W. Duncan McKim (additional), and Duncan McIntosh from Mrs. Christopher Johnson.

Letter of Edward Cockey to Major Micajah Merryman furnishing a list of militia men in Baltimore County, from Miss Claris T. Crane.

"Nathaniel Ramsay and Descendants" by Caldwell Woodruff, M. D., from the author.

Anna Ella Carroll papers (additional), from Miss Katherine Cradock.

A lot of miscellaneous bound volumes were received from Mrs. McKim and single volumes came from many individuals.

Mr. Arthur D. Gans presented 11 numbers of the Hagerstown almanac, 1864-1915; Miss Jane James Cook gave the Civil and Military Lists of Rhode Island, 1647-1850; Mr. Raphael Semmes presented two volumes printed here by Enoch Story in 1774 and 1775, and other books; 63 local imprints were given by Mr. Francis Old; and pamphlets and circulars totalling 32 pieces from collection of John Henry Alexander, came from Mr. Eugene A. Alexander.

Additions to the Dielman Collection of Baltimore Sheet Music totaled 360 items.

Genealogical Books and Papers.

Data concerning Nicholas Gassaway and descendants, from Mrs. John P. Wright.

The Ancestry of William Clapton of York Co., Va., from Mrs. William Whitehead Erwin.

Genealogy of the Descendants of John Kirk, by M. S. Roberts, from Maurice E. Skinner.

Burgess genealogy, by Dr. B. H. Burgess, gift of the author.

The Early Robossons of Anne Arundel Co., from Ray Robosson.

James-Denison Genealogy, from Miss Jane James Cook.
Data on the Ensor family of Baltimore County, from Mrs. Edith Read.
Copies of the wills of Samuel Stringer Coale, 1798, and Thomas Coale, 1796; from Lt. Col. Joseph I. Greene.
Forbes and Fowle families, 1610-1741 (MS bound), from the estate of George Forbes.
Robert Colgate the Immigrant and associated lines, gift of Norman B. Gardiner.
The Bibb Family of America, 1640-1940, gift of the author, Charles W. Bibb.
Vinton Family chart, from James Vinton Blake.
List of tombstone records of St. John's Church, Long Green, from Mr. Michael O. Jenkins.
Genealogical notes of the late Dr. Christopher Johnston, from Mrs. Johnston.
Strobridge, Morrison and Strawbridge families, from C. H. Strawbridge.
Briscoe Lineage, from J. W. Harrison.
Wainwright and related families, from Emerson B. Roberts.
Copies of records of private burying grounds throughout the State, from Mrs. Thomas S. George.
Henry Sater's descendants, by Iva Sheffer, gift of Rev. J. David Cook.
Koon-Coons Families, from Mrs. C. C. Bovey.
Henning, Hitzelberger and allied families, from Rev. Charles S. Jones.
Daniel Cox Hopper family Bible, gift of the late Charles Cox Hooper.
Courtney Family Chart, from Mrs. Ernest Helfenstein.
Cooley Genealogy, from M. E. Cooley.
Birth, marriage and death records of Harford County, gift of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver.
William Grant Cook and his descendants, gift of Wm. Grant Cook.
Very large collection of manuscript records of Maryland families, from Mrs. Harris H. Horner.
The Maryland Logsdon Family, from Edwin C. Welsh.
Gosney Family, by Mrs. Georgia Wisda.
Lineage of the Anglo-Norman Péché of England, presented by Mr. Edwin Peck.
The Family of Captain John Mills, presented by William Carroll Hill.
Holland Family Notes, presented by Mrs. Otis W. Swainson.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman*

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES AND LITERARY ENTERTAINMENT

The Society was fortunate in having an interesting and stimulating series of addresses during the year. The speakers and their topics were:

January 12, "Errors of an Amateur Historian," by Mr. Hamilton Owens, Editor of the Baltimore *Sun*.
February 9, "The Names of the Great Lawyers on the Frieze of the Supreme Bench Court Room," by former Judge Henry D. Harlan.
February 26, "Sailing in the Wake of Columbus," by Samuel Eliot Morison, Professor of American History at Harvard University.
March 9, "Mysticism and Magic During the Colonial Period and Later," by Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans.
April 13, "The Work of the Federal Court of Maryland," by Hon. W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge of the United States District Court.
May 11, "Early Days of The Johns Hopkins Hospital," by Dr. Lewellys F. Barker.
October 12, "Tall Tales of Maryland," by Miss Katherine Scarborough, feature writer of the Baltimore *Sun*.
November 9, "Some Maryland Items in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress," by Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat, Chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

December 14, "Eastern Shore Worthies," by Chief Judge Samuel K. Dennis of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City.

Mr. John H. Scarff gave a brief sketch of the McKim Collection of portraits, silver, china and other objects recently presented by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim.

Report of the Committee on Publication

During the past year the fifty-eighth volume of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, was published. It contains the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland for the years 1762-1763. This is the twenty-seventh volume that has been published dealing with Assembly affairs. The entire cost of this volume was $4,943.84. The State appropriation for 1941 was $4,133.00, the difference between the two figures having been made up from funds accumulated from sales of the Archives in past years.

The Society's quarterly, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, which is edited by Mr. James W. Foster, completed its thirty-seventh year. The four issues total 465 pages. A statement of the income and expenses of the *Magazine* follow:

Budget allowance		$2,000.00	
Subscriptions and sale of single copies	$234.91		
Advertising revenue	356.19		
Sale of Joshua Johnston reprints	23.00		
Contributions to illustrations in Magazine	186.30		
	$800.40	800.40	
		$2,800.40	$2,800.40
Expenses:			
Printing (4 issues)	$2,160.00		
Postage	105.55		
Editor	150.00		
Index	55.00		
Commission on advertising for 1941	100.00		
Engravings and illustrations	230.59		
Envelopes	67.22		
J. Johnston post card announcements	29.95		
	$2,898.31		$2,898.31
Debit balance			$ 97.91

Raphael Semmes, *Chairman*

Report of the Membership Committee

January 1, 1942:			
Life Members		18	
Associate Members		166	
Active Members		1060	
		1244	1244
New Members, 1942:			
Associate		19	
Active		80	
		99	99
			1343
Members lost during 1942:			
Died		36	
Resigned		49	
Dropped		20	
		105	105
			1238
December 31, 1942:			
Life	18		
Associate	169		
Active	1051		
	1238		

Rosamond Randall Beirne,
Chairman

Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1942			$ 4,506.28
Receipts:			
Dues from Members		$ 5,850.00	
Income Peabody Fund		987.50	
Income other than Peabody Fund		4,172.60	
Income Athenaeum Fund		2,931.52	
Income Audubon Fund		205.00	
Confederate Relics		50.00	
Publication Committee		398.84	
Library Committee		110.26	
Magazine Account		401.56	
General Account		629.13	
			15,736.41
Securities:			
5,000 American Tel. & Tel. 5½% 1943 Called		5,000.00	
1,000 Baltimore 2nd School Loan Matured		1,000.00	
7% Distribution on 2,000 Mortgage Securities Corp Series "B" in liquidation		140.00	
			6,140.00

Endowment Funds:			
Florence C. Chesnut Bequest		925.00	
Mary B. Redmond Bequest		454.11	
M. Ella Hoopes Bequest		1,000.00	
Chas. C. McCormick, Life Member		100.00	
			2,479.11
			$28,861.80
EXPENDITURES:			
General Account:			
Salaries	$ 6,796.43		
Trustees	1,051.01		
Trustees—Heating	1,901.84		
Office	180.06		
Treasurer	233.50		
General	1,731.38		
Special	569.40		
		12,463.62	
Magazine Account		2,184.00	
Library Committee		393.42	
Publication Committee		714.31	
Securities Purchased		8,515.79	
			24,271.14
Balance on Hand December 31, 1942			$ 4,590.66

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDITS:		
Bequests:		
Florence C. Chesnut	$ 925.00	
M. Ella Hoopes	1,000.00	
Mary B. Redwood	454.11	
Life Member Chas. C. McCormick	100.00	
$5,000. American Tel. & Tel. 5½%—1943 Called	5,000.00	
1,000. Balto. City 2nd School Loan Matured	1,000.00	
7% Distribution on $2,000. Mortgage Sec. Corp. Series "B" in liquidation	140.00	
		$8,619.11
PURCHASED:		
$5,000 American Tobacco Co. 3% Deb. 1962 ($1,000 Account of Audubon Fund)	$5,014.59	
2,000 U. S. Treasury 2½% 62-67	2,001.10	
1,500 U. S. Victory 2½% 62-68	1,500.10	
		8,515.79
Uninvested Funds for Year Ending Dec. 31, 1942		103.32
Less Overdraft, Dec. 31, 1941		116.94
Overdraft, December 31, 1942		$ 13.62

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT

Balance on Hand, January 1, 1942		$5,828.79
RECEIPTS:		
State of Maryland	$3,334.29	
General	132.28	
		3,466.57
		$9,295.36
EXPENDITURES:		
Paid Lord Baltimore Press	$2,149.40	
General	726.80	
		2,876.20
Balance on Hand, December 31, 1942		$6,419.16
State of Maryland Appropriation for 1942	4,133.00	
Paid to Society		3,334.29
Paid Direct to Lord Baltimore Press		798.71
	$4,133.00	$4,133.00

For reasons of economy the list of members of the Society has been omitted from this issue. It will be published as a separate pamphlet and will be sent *upon request* to members who desire to receive it.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVIII JUNE, 1943 NO. 2

THE REFUGEES FROM THE ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO IN MARYLAND

By WALTER CHARLTON HARTRIDGE

On July 10, 1793, the citizens of Baltimore were surprised to learn that during the afternoon and night of the previous day a fleet of twenty-two vessels from St. Domingo had cast anchor off Fell's Point. More than five hundred whites and Negroes lay aboard the ships.

Still greater was their astonishment when the cause of this mass emigration was known. Cap-François, metropolis of the French colony of St. Domingo and asylum for thousands of Creoles whose plantations had been seized by rebellious slaves, had fallen into the hands of the Negroes. After a frightful massacre the town had been sacked. The surviving whites and those servants who had remained faithful to them had been forced into the harbor and had thrown themselves on the mercy of ship captains and sailors. At midnight of June 23 a flotilla of one hundred and thirty merchantmen, crowded with five thousand refugees, had put to sea, its path lighted by the glow from the burning city.[1]

I

Tales of Negro insurrection could hardly fail to arouse the sympathy for the dispossessed Creoles of a slave-holding community. "As soon as it was known, that our unfortunate Allies had arrived," the editor of the *Maryland Journal* announced,

[1] For the best account of the political and social upheaval in St. Domingo, see T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston and New York, 1914).

" every Exertion was made by our animated citizens to alleviate their Distress" [2] Baltimoreans assembled at the Exchange and appointed a Committee of merchants to see what steps could be taken to aid the refugees. On the morning of July 10, the Committee boarded thirteen vessels and interviewed three hundred and fifty-one white passengers, of whom one hundred were women and children. " The Distresses of those unhappy People," they reported, " have not been exaggerated or perhaps equalled by the Information already given to the Public." The Committee brought back the news that refugees in other ships headed for Baltimore would outnumber those already in the harbor. A " great exertion of humanity " was required to supply their wants.[3]

"Actuated by Motives of pity for the helpless Part of the Passengers," the Committee on their own authority provisioned the ships with fresh vegetables, hoping that their decision would be approved by their fellow-citizens. Further aid would be made " on some regular System " until assistance could be obtained from the French Minister or from the American Government. The Committee resolved that subscriptions be opened immediately, one-third of each pledge to be paid at once, the remainder when called for. The money would be turned over to the French Consul, who had promised to find the number of those in actual want and to appoint a second committee to receive the funds and to keep an account of expenditures. The Consul's Committee was to purchase supplies and to provide houses for the refugees. As the plight of the St. Domingans required immediate attention, the Committee of merchants made a second resolution that individuals be appointed to call on the citizens of Baltimore, requesting them to receive refugees in their houses " in such numbers as would be convenient to each family." [4]

The group who had gathered at the Exchange unanimously adopted these resolutions. Without more ado they chose eleven men to canvass the town. Baltimore was divided into districts and the next day two gentlemen called on every family in their area.

The response was wholehearted. Not only did many inhabitants give the refugees beds, but they also " politely furnished

[2] *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

them with the Participation of their Tables." Subscriptions were opened on July 10 and two days later nearly eleven thousand dollars had been pledged.[5] The money was sorely needed, for meanwhile other French vessels had arrived, " particularly Yesterday, when a Number came to Anchor, several of which are full of Passengers." [6] By July 13, thirty-six vessels from Cap-François lay in the harbor.[7]

The rest of the State, when appealed to by a Committee of Correspondence, proved no less generous than Baltimore. A gentleman of Annapolis placed a commodious brick house in London Town at the disposal of the Committee and offered to turn out the tenants of his Annapolis mansion in favor of two respectable Creole families, whose transportation from Baltimore he promised to pay. A resident of Chester Town gave one hundred dollars. " Your town," he wrote the Baltimore Committee, " have behaved most nobly upon this occasion, and [I] hope their example may excite the benevolence of other places." [8] His confidence was not misplaced. To a writer in the *Journal* it seemed that the towns and counties of Maryland vied with each other in assisting the St. Domingans. On the Eastern Shore, the neighborhood of Centerville, Queens Town, and Wye forwarded eight hundred dollars " out of a still increasing Subscription." Talbot County responded liberally, Georgetown and Annapolis were " eminently distinguished by the largeness of their Subscriptions," as were Frederick Town and Hagerstown. Bladensburg, although small in population, was not " the least in Exertion." Its townspeople sent five hundred dollars and a letter approving the Committee's work.[9]

Instances of individual charity have not gone unrecorded. William Tinker, of Fell's Point, purchased a quantity of provisions which he carried aboard the fleet and distributed to the needy.[10] " For the benefit of the FRENCH SUFFERERS, Late from Cape-Francois," Messrs. McGrath and Godwin sponsored a performance of " The favorite Comedy of the West-Indian " and a farce called " The Citizen." "As compassion for the unfortunate

[5] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1793.
[6] *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793.
[7] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.
[8] *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.
[9] *Maryland Journal*, August 27, 1793.
[10] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.

objects of this Benefit happily pervades every rank," they deemed it expedient to abolish differences in the price of seats. Dollar tickets admitted their holders to every part of the house.[11] A concert of vocal and instrumental music under the direction of Messrs. Kalkbrenner and Miller was given on July 24. The proceeds went to " our distressed brethren the French." [12] The public was assured that the greatest efforts had been made to render the entertainment " grand, beyond any Thing of the Kind ever exhibited in Baltimore." The star performer was Mademoiselle Buron, formerly " Singer to the Queen of France," who had been " obliged to leave that happy situation and fly to the West-Indies," whence she had come to the United States.[13]

II

There was, of course, another side to the picture. A writer in the *Journal* complained that too many Baltimoreans were " of a Disposition to take advantage, even of the Misfortunes of their Friends. Our Markets are shamefully raised; and the exorbitant Prices of Provisions are severely felt as well by the Honest, but poor Labourer of our own Country, as by the plundered People who have fled the *Cape* to save the Relicts of their Families. . . ." The person who would acquire wealth by such means, he philosophized, must be debased indeed. " Some Measures should be pursued to blast this disgraceful Evil." [14]

A few days after this protest appeared, the *Advertiser* carried a specific account of dishonesty. "A Poor Frenchman " from Cap-François approached a farmer in the market and inquired the price of eggs; " the r—1, designing to take advantage of the stranger's ignorance of our language, &. demanded a *dollar per dozen*; the Frenchman thought it dear, but uncertain of the usual price of our markets, at length procured a *dozen for three quarters of a dollar*—perhaps the only sum misfortune had left him." The editor of the *Advertiser* declared that the farmer's villainy called for police action.[15]

The St. Domingans, however, did not always come out at the short end of the bargain. Thomas Swaine lamented the fact that

[11] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1793.
[12] *Ibid.*, July 18, 1793.
[13] *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.

he rented two horses from his stable to a refugee, who said that he was going to be married and wanted the horses for only one day. Several weeks passed and the horses were not returned. "As this an Imposition," Swaine offered a reward of ten dollars for the return of his property.[16]

III

But even with the best will in the world, the citizens of Maryland were not in a position to support the Creoles indefinitely. On July 22 the Committee of Correspondence sent a circular letter to "the commercial and other towns of the United States" in the interest of the St. Domingans. By that date fifty-three ships had brought one thousand whites and five hundred mulattoes and Negroes to Baltimore. With the twelve thousand dollars obtained from Marylanders, provision had been made for one thousand refugees, four hundred of whom were received into private families.[17]

Although the call upon "humanity had been peculiar and extraordinary" and the aid given by Marylanders had exceeded expectation, the whole subscription "is only equal to a relief that must shortly terminate, unless aided by the benevolent and humane in every other part of the United States." More sufferers were arriving daily and "by the peculiar circumstances of their flight, many, who heretofore enjoyed affluence, are destitute of even the most necessary clothing."

The Committee had informed Genêt, the French Minister, of his countrymen's plight and had asked him to contribute toward their relief. Genêt did not reply. Because of the immediate need of the refugees, the Committee decided to treat them as if left entirely to individual charity, with the reservation, however, of returning the subscriptions should the Minister give a favorable answer.

Some benevolent inhabitants of Philadelphia, the letter concluded, had opened already a correspondence with the Baltimore Committee and had intimated that they would be large contributors.[18]

[16] *Maryland Journal*, July 19, 1793.
[17] *Ibid.*, July 26, 1793.
[18] *Ibid.*

In December the plight of the refugees was called to the attention of the Maryland House of Delegates.[19] This body voted forty-five hundred dollars " for the temporary relief of the suffering French from St. Domingo." Three gentlemen from Baltimore—Messrs. Patterson, Scott, and Sterret—were empowered to draw five hundred dollars a week for nine weeks, from the State treasury and to distribute those sums among the Creoles.[20]

A committee from the Maryland Legislature then went to Philadelphia and asked Congress to assume financial responsibility for the St. Domingans. Although sympathy for the refugees was universal, several congressmen hesitated to expend the money of their constituents " on objects of benevolence." James Madison of Virginia was the leader of this group. He expressed the fear that, in aiding the refugees, a dangerous precedent would be established " which might hereafter be perverted to the countenance of purposes very different from those of charity." [21]

Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, on the other hand, felt that Americans were bound by " every moral obligation that could influence mankind " to relieve a people " at present our allies, and who had formerly been our benefactors." [22]

The scales were turned in favor of the refugees when the congressmen were informed that Genêt was making discriminations among the émigrés, promising assistance to those of his political party, but completely ignoring the aristocrats. In February, 1794, Congress passed " an Act providing for the relief of such of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, resident within the United States, as may be found in want of support." George Washington was empowered to distribute fifteen thousand dollars, " in such manner, and by the hands of such persons, as shall, in the opinion of the President, appear most conductive to the humane purposes of this act.[23]

Two thousand dollars of this amount were divided among four hundred refugees in Maryland.

[19] *The Washington Spy* (Hagerstown), December 9, 1793.
[20] *Columbian Centinal* (Boston), December 18, 1793.
[21] Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856* (New York, 1857), I, 462.
[22] *Ibid.*, 463.
[23] *Annals of the Congress of the United States, Third Congress* (Washington, 1849), 1417.

IV

The St. Domingans were grateful for the relief extended them. An anonymous refugee lamented the fact that so many of his countrymen were not acquainted with the English language, " which, they doubt, could not furnish them with words expressive of their real sentiments," and begged the printers of the *Advertiser* to convey to their benefactors, " with the strongest expressions they want," his people's appreciation. " Please to tell them that if we never have it in our power to discharge this debt, we are in hopes that some way or other it will not remain unacquitted, and that the Almighty will not be deaf to the fervent prayers addressed to him for their happiness and the prosperity and peace of their blessed country." [24]

While the campaign for funds was under way, " The inhabitants of Cape-Francois " made public testimony of an esteem " that shall possess our hearts till our latest breath—that shall be perpetuated in the hearts of our children, whom it will be our duty to bring up in these sentiments for you." A pathetic note crept into the address; the refugees feared that calumnies would pursue them to their friendly asylum. Enemies, " envious of that humane concern with which you endeavor to make us forget our misfortunes, may endeavor still to persecute us, by attempting to rob us of your esteem." The refugees assured their hosts of their peaceful disposition. " The great sensations of the mind are far beyond the most impassioned powers of language, and your hearts are sufficiently acquainted with them to judge what must be the extent of our feelings." [25]

Further acknowledgment was made in " an elegant and affecting Discourse to his emigrated Flock " by the Reverend Adrien Cibot, the former Superior-General of the Clergy in St. Domingo. After dwelling on the unworthiness of the Creoles, whose transgressions and infidelity had provoked the wrath of Heaven, he extolled the virtues of the Baltimoreans in extravagant apostrophes. " O worthy and generous Inhabitants of Baltimore! O, all you who dwell on this Continent! O, our Brethren and Benefactors! may this heroical Act of Benevolence be told and proclaimed

[24] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.
[25] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston, South Carolina), August 8, 1793.

amidst all Nations of both Hemispheres! These my Sentiments, and those of my Fellow-Citizens." [26]

The colonists of St. Domingo, Cibot declared, had sworn a brotherly friendship for Americans. They desired to constitute henceforth one people and wished for nothing more earnestly than to be worthy of that union by endeavoring to imitate the virtues of their hosts.

That these expressions were heartfelt and were not invitations for further aid is attested by Berquin-Duvallon, an attorney from Le Cap. Ten years after the destruction of his native city when the refugees who remained in Baltimore were self-supporting, he wrote: "Baltimore immortalized herself in the eyes of France by the magnanimity with which she received the suffering colonists into her bosom." The legislators at Annapolis respected but one precept, the *caritas humani generis*, and Berquin-Duvallon contrasted their unselfishness with the indifference of the French Creoles of Louisiana toward their own blood kin, the French Creoles of St. Domingo, who landed in their province.[27]

V

Many were the occupations that the émigrés pursued. Those possessed of capital engaged in trade, while others who had been planters on the Island, introduced in the neighborhood of Baltimore French methods of husbandry.[28]

Teaching became the vocation of the cultivated refugees. In 1795 the widow Lacombe, "an accomplished Creole of St. Domingo," opened a boarding-school for girls in South Street. Her seminary was patronized by the fashionable world of Baltimore and Madame Lacombe was able to employ on her faculty several émigrés, among them two priests, Fathers Dubourg and Moranvillé.[29]

Paul-Aimé Fleury left Baltimore for the country. He kept a school at Upper Falls, but closed it after his marriage in October,

[26] *Maryland Journal*, August 20, 1793.

[27] Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississipi, ou des provinces de Louisiane et Floride occidentale, en l'année 1802, par un observateur résident sur les lieux* (Paris, 1803), 230-235.

[28] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 82, 83.

[29] Célestin N. Moreau, *Les prêtres émigrés français aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1856), 175, 176.

1794, to Clare Young and thenceforth superintended the planting of Woodbine, his wife's farm in Baltimore County. Fleury's descendents still live on the property.[30]

Other refugees advertized for pupils in the newspapers. Two young gentlemen, "of untainted morals, being obliged by the late disasters at Cape-Francois, to make use of some accomplishments intended for their amusement," offered to teach drawing, a little painting, music, and the violin.[31] Marye, also from Le Cap, gave lessons in vocal music, but his clientele was limited to persons knowing French, as he did not understand English.[32]

Mademoiselle Buron, encouraged by her reception at a charity concert, engaged Grant's Assembly Room and on the evening of July 31 sang for the benefit of herself and her aged parents. It was reported in the press that she justified every expectation. Her voice had exquisite sweetness and considerable volume; "and the several beautiful airs she sang, accompanied by the harp and piano-forte, were received with the greatest applause by a numerous and genteel audience." [33] The receipts enabled her father to establish himself as a tuner of musical instruments.[34]

The foils were not neglected. J. Pinaud, a fencing master of Paris and London, arrived in Baltimore with the St. Domingans and proclaimed a "fencing assault" at the Sign of the Indian Queen. He expressed the hope of opening a school.[35] Dr. Robin from St. Domingo, who had been a pensioner of the king of Prussia, taught tachygraphy—"Shorthand, the art of writing, as fast as the saying." [36]

More practical, perhaps, than their fellow refugees, Marex and his wife operated a coffee and boarding house *à la mode française* in the house of Solomon Allen;[37] Peter Vandenbussche, "the great Tobacco Manufacturer," formerly of the Rue du Bac, Cap-François, set up a snuff and tobacco manufactory in Baltimore, whence he intended to distribute his brands throughout the country; [38] and the Sieur Pontier, "echappe au massacres du Cap-

[30] Information supplied by Mr. William B. Marye of Baltimore. Fleury's marriage is recorded in the Register of St. John's Parish, Joppa, Baltimore County (transcript in the library of the Maryland Historical Society).
[31] *Maryland Journal*, July 30, 1793.
[32] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.
[33] *Ibid.*, August 2, 1793.
[34] *Ibid.*, August 13, 1793.
[35] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.
[36] *Ibid.*, July 11, 1793.
[37] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1793.
[38] *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.

François," maintained a wig-making establishment in Gay Street.[39]

The circulating library that Louis Pascault established in 1793 catered primarily to the "Accommodation and Amusement" of the refugees themselves, but in order to read "the best French Authors" many Americans joined.[40] When in 1796 the Library Company of Baltimore was founded, a Frenchman, Jean Mondésir, was made librarian. Mondésir held the position for only two months. He was succeeded in October, 1796, by the Abbé Georges de Périgny, a St. Domingan priest, who since his arrival in the country had enjoyed the hospitality of Charles Carroll at Doughoregan Manor. An annual salary of three hundred and fifty dollars was voted him in 1797; and the stipend was later increased. After serving as librarian for fifteen years, de Périgny obtained a six months' leave of absence and the appointment, as his deputy, of François Messonier, the French Vice-Consul. De Périgny overstayed his furlough. In June, 1812, Archbishop Carroll, president of the Company, reported to the Board that he had "no other intelligence from or concerning the abbé de Périgny, than, that he was, so far, pleased with his situation in Martinico and enjoyed his health to a great degree. He intimated no intention to return, nor has he written a line to the President." Messonier succeeded to the post, but resigned later in the same year. He was the last of the Company's French librarians.[41]

VI

Several doctors came to Baltimore from St. Domingo. Their experiences with diseases of warm climates and their knowledge of remedies that were useful in epidemics stood the community in good stead.

Pierre Chatard (1767-1847) was not only an outstanding physician of his day, but was the founder of the "Chatard medical dynasty" which has furnished Baltimore with doctors for five generations. Dr. Chatard had received an excellent education in France. A licentiate in arts of the College of Toulouse, he won

[39] *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1793.
[40] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.
[41] See the Directors' Book (1796-1809) and the Minute Book (1809-1824) of the Library Company of Baltimore (manuscript volumes in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society).

his medical degree at Montpellier in 1788, and during the following two years studied under Dessault at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris. Returning to St. Domingo, Chatard settled on his father's plantation in the Quartier de Plaisance. In 1794 he fled from the Island. The ship on which he took passage landed at Wilmington, and there Dr. Chatard became an American citizen and joined the Medical Society of Delaware. As he was " desirous to continue the exercise of his profession on a greater theatre," he removed to Baltimore in July, 1797.[42] Friendless and without financial resources, Chatard addressed himself to the Baltimore public, through the columns of the *Federal Gazette.* " It is not to boast of himself," he wrote, " or to promise wonders, (as is always the case with quacks) that Doctor Chatard takes this way to make himself known; it is only because he has no friends nor acquaintances here to make for him, that first and essential step toward fame—time and circumstances, he hopes will do the rest." [43]

Time and circumstances were kind to Dr. Chatard: the yellow fever epidemic of 1797 and 1800 brought him clients and reputation. Cordell, the historian of Maryland medicine, records that his " superior education and acquirements gave to his opinions and statements great weight, and scarcely anyone in the profession then here—distinguished as it was . . . —could speak with as great authority." In a letter sent to the *Medical Repository* Chatard stated that he had attended yellow fever cases, both in St. Domingo and in Baltimore, and that he regarded the disease as a bilious fever. Although in 1797 he cured many patients by a lancet, as Dr. Rush had done in Philadelphia, in the epidemic of 1800 he ordered venesection in only two instances. Chatard recommended cold baths to sufferers and assured them that the disease was not necessarily fatal, although, he added dryly, " the flight of physicians from the city was not well adapted to remove such an impression." [44]

His position established, Pierre Chatard was appointed consulting physician to the Baltimore Hospital in 1812 and later joined the faculty of Washington University. He was a prolific writer, and one of his papers is declared to be the earliest Baltimore publication which refers to diseases of the eye. So meticu-

[42] Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, M. D., *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899* (Baltimore, 1903), 348, 349.

[43] *Federal Gazette,* July 25, 1797.

[44] Cordell, *op. cit.,* 40, 41.

lously did he keep his records that several years after his death Dr. Van Bibber was able to compile an analysis from his practice of four thousand cases of childbirth.[45]

In 1801 Dr. Chatard was married to a refugee, Jeanne-Marie-Françoise-Adelaïde Boisson. One of their sons, Frederick, won a place in American naval and military history. As commander of the sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, he co-operated with Commander Paulding in the defeat of General Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua; and casting his lot with the Confederacy in 1861, he commanded the batteries at Evansport on the Potomac, and later became chief of heavy artillery and constructor of batteries on the peninsula under General Magruder.[46]

Another son, Ferdinand-Edmé, took his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1826, studied in London, Paris, and Edinburgh, and on his return to Baltimore succeeded to his father's practice. Two of Ferdinand-Edmé's sons became doctors. Francis Silas Chatard (1834-1918), the elder, studied under Dr. Francis Donaldson of Baltimore and obtained his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1856. After serving two years as interne in the Baltimore Infirmary and as physician at the city Almshouse, he decided to enter the religious life. Dr. Chatard was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes in 1878 and twenty years later was translated to the newly-created See of Indianapolis.[47] His brother, Ferdinand-Edmé, Junior, was graduated Doctor of Medicine from the University of Maryland in 1861. He was elected president of the Clinical Society of Maryland in 1877 and vice-president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty in 1878; and was professor of Children's Diseases at the Baltimore Polyclinic.[48] Ferdinand-Edmé Junior's son, Joseph Albert, and his grandson, Ferdinand Edmé, hold degrees from Johns Hopkins University and are active Baltimore physicians of the present day.[49]

The Ducatels—Edmé-Germain and his son, Jules-Timoleon—also made names for themselves through their medical and scien-

[45] *Ibid.*, 704.

[46] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York, 1887), 708, 709 n.

[47] See Richard J. Purcell's sketch of Bishop Chatard, *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV (New York, 1930), 39.

[48] Cordell, *op. cit.*, 348.

[49] Henry M. Hyde, "For 126 Years City has had a Dr. Chatard," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore), June 15, 1926.

tific interests. Edmé Ducatel (*c.* 1757-1833) was a native of Auxerre, France, but a resident of St. Domingo before the insurrection. He came to Baltimore and by 1795 had established himself as a druggist and chemist in Baltimore Street. In 1819 he was one of the founders of a short-lived association for the promotion of science. Ducatel married in Baltimore Anne-Catherine Pineau.[50]

Their oldest child, Jules-Timoleon (1796-1849), was educated at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and in Paris. He returned from abroad to teach natural philosophy at the Mechanics Institute. Ducatel later became professor of Chemistry and Geology on the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of Maryland. He passed to the School of Medicine in 1831 and taught chemistry there until 1837. State Geologist and eventually professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology at St. John's College, Annapolis, Dr. Ducatel spent three years on an expedition to the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. He was the author of a popular manual on toxicology and was a founder and president of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature. He died in Baltimore in 1849.[51] A street in that city is named Ducatel.

VII

One of the largest mercantile houses of the country was founded by Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis Pascault, Marquis de Poléon. Pascault was born on his father's plantation in St. Domingo.[52] He left the Island several years prior to the destruction of Le Cap, settled in Baltimore, and, until his death in 1824, " was actively engaged in the transaction of business which suddenly raised Baltimore from obscurity to a high rank in the

[50] City Directories; J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 395.

[51] Cordell, *op. cit.*, 383.

[52] " An interesting sidelight upon the sojourn of the Pascaults in Santo Domingo is contributed by a letter (February 6, 1924) from Count Jean de Sayve, who married Aileen O'Donnell [great grand-daughter of Louis Pascault] in which he states that his sister-in-law the Marquise de Sayve (*née* de Poléon Saint Georges) had shown him her family genealogy which sets forth that a certain Marquis de Poléon had last been heard of in Santo Domingo in the 18th century. All trace of him having been lost his brother assumed the title in France. This brother left no sons and the son of his daughter, the Marquise de Saint Georges, added the Poléon name to his own resulting in the present patronymic de Poléon Saint Georges." E. Thornton-Cook, *John O'Donnell of Baltimore; His Forbears & Descendants* (London, 1934), 56.

world." [53] In 1789 he married Mary Magdalen Slye of St. Mary's County. By her he had several sons and daughters.

The diary of James Gallatin, son of "The Great Peacemaker" and a young man of fashion, gives a glimpse into the Pascault family circle. It was in Geneva that Gallatin first heard of the Pascaults. Calling with his father on Madame Patterson Bonaparte, he was entertained, one winter afternoon in 1815, with a lively account of Henriette Pascault and of his hostess's introduction to Jerome Bonaparte. Elizabeth Patterson had been invited to a dinner party at the Pascault's and, having arrived early, was standing by a window with the eldest daughter of the Marquis when two strangers approached the house. "That man will be my husband!" exclaimed Henriette Pascault, pointing to the taller man. "Very well," Miss Patterson replied, "I will marry the other one." "Strangely enough," Madame Patterson Bonaparte informed Gallatin, "we both did as we had said. Henrietta Pascault married Reubell, son of one of the three directors, and I married Jerome Bonaparte. Had I but waited, with my beauty and wit I would have married an English duke, instead of which I married a Corsican blackguard." [54]

When he reached the United States eight years later, James Gallatin went to see Madame Reubell, who had returned to Baltimore after the King of Westphalia had dismissed General Reubell for allowing the Duke of Brunswick, with an inferior army, to defeat him.[55] Henriette Reubell was then living with her father in what was considered the oldest house in Baltimore. Gallatin was impressed by the iron gates that the Marquis had ordered from Europe and by the "air of refinement about the interior [of the house] that I have never seen out of France." He was even more impressed by Madame Reubell, "who is very handsome." She had a daughter and two sons, "the youngest, Frederic, is the handsomest young man I have ever seen. He must be about seventeen." [56]

On his second visit Gallatin met Louis Pascault. "I am quite off my head [he wrote]. Monsieur Pascault, who is the Marquis

[53] *American*, June 2, 1824.
[54] *A Great Peace Maker, the Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813-1827* (New York, 1914), 62.
[55] Philip W. Sargeant, *Jerome Bonaparte* (New York, 1909), 250, 251.
[56] Gallatin, *op. cit.*, 246.

de Poléon, is a gentleman of the old *régime*. . . . He received me with the most wonderful courtesy—tapped a beautiful gold snuff-box and offered it to me. The supper quite simple but served on beautiful silver. Everything had the air of the greatest refinement. I thought myself back in France again." [57]

Gallatin soon found himself in love with the youngest daughter of the house. His suit progressed and Josephine Pascault consented to become his wife; but, he wrote in January, 1824, " I fear there is going to be delay with regard to our marriage. Josephine is a Catholic, and that is one thing father is adamant about. He will not allow (if we have any children) that they should be brought up in that religion." [58] In other respects, however, Albert Gallatin deemed the alliance acceptable. A descendant of dour Calvinist syndics and counsellors, he was dazzled by the elegant mode of living in this Catholic household. " . . . I noticed his astonishment," James recorded, " at the fine plate, also the quantities of family portraits, &c. &c." [59]

By March the difficulty was overcome. The refusal of Archbishop Maréchal to perform the marriage if a Protestant ceremony was to follow, so " disgusted " Pascault that he informed the prelate he would dispense with the services of the Church and have his daughter married by a Protestant bishop. Further to annoy Maréchal, he added that a wife's first duty was to obey her husband. The Archbishop responded by excommunicating Pascault.[60]

During the eight years following his marriage, Gallatin was engaged in surveying and in selling lands in Ohio and in western Virginia. With the capital realized on his ventures, he established a brokerage firm in New York. In 1838 he succeeded his father as president of the Gallatin National Bank [61] and held that position for thirty years.

According to Gallatin, Eleanor, the second daughter of Louis Pascault, was—" very beautiful like a full-blown rose, but seems to have but little brain or education." She was the wife of Christopher Columbus O'Donnell, heir of an East Indian merchant nabob and himself a figure of importance in the financial world

[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*, 249.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*, 249, 250.
[61] William Hunt, *The American Biographical Sketch Book* (New York, 1849), 139.

of Baltimore. Their children married into the Hillen, Lee, Carroll, and Jenkins families of Baltimore and into the Iselin family of New York.[62]

Two of Pascault's sons reached maturity. Francis, the younger, settled in Anne Arundel County and died there in 1827. Louis Charles (1790-1882), a captain in the Mexican War, married Ann E. Goldsborough and moved to Talbot County. His ten children left many descendants on the Eastern Shore.[63]

VIII

In the western part of the state, Frederick Town became a Mecca for Creole dancing masters and teachers. In August, 1793, Messrs. O'Duhigg and Large, " lately arrived in this Town, from St. Domingo," opened a dancing school at Mr. Sturm's in Patrick Street.[64] Louis-Sebastian-Charles Saint-Martin de Bellevue, a former planter of the Isle à Vâche, in the Southern District of St. Domingo, who had enjoyed a legal and political career on the Island, taught French in the County Academy. He died in Frederick Town in 1805, of a complaint contracted while serving in the Royalist Army.[65] Fifteen years later, F. Marcilly, a lawyer and magistrate of St. Domingo, moved to Frederick Town from Emmitsburg, where he had been professor of French at Mount St. Mary's Seminary, and advertized for pupils in the *Frederick-Town Herald*.[66]

An important Creole family, the Bellumeau de la Vincendière, struck roots in Frederick County. Marguerite-Elisabeth-Pauline, wife of Étienne-Bellumeau de la Vincendière, was the daughter of Gabriel-Michel de Magnan, sometime Treasurer of the Marine, by Marie-Françoise de Sterlin, a St. Domingan of British descent. She was born on the Island and married a planter of St. Jérome de la Petite Rivière parish. Madame Bellumeau was in France at the time of the Revolution. She and her two youngest daughters managed to emigrate through the good offices

[62] Thornton-Cook, *op. cit.*

[63] *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (New York and Chicago, 1898), 676-678.

[64] *Maryland Gazette, and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, August 1 and August 8, 1793.

[65] *Frederick-Town Herald*, November 23, 1805.

[66] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1820.

of her husband's cousin, Jean Payen Boisneuf, also a native of St. Domingo. Defrauded of her savings by a land-shark, Madame Bellumeau accepted the continued support of her relative and in 1798 settled at the Hermitage, a thousand-acre plantation on the Monocacy River near Frederick Town, which Boisneuf had purchased in her daughter's name. There Madame Bellumeau was joined by her married daughter, Marie-Pauline Dugas de Vallon, who with her husband and children had wandered the length of the Atlantic seaboard since their escape from St. Domingo. Payen Boisneuf died at the Hermitage in 1815. Madame Bellumeau lived four years longer.[67] One of her daughters became the wife of Pierre-Nicolas-Simard, Chevalier de Petray, and returned to France; another, Émerentienne, married Captain John R. Corbaley, of the United States Army; and a third, Victoire-Pauline-Marie-Gabrielle, remained unmarried. After selling the Hermitage, Victoire Vincendière moved into a house she owned in Second Street, Frederick Town, and died there in 1854.

Madame Bellumeau's youngest daughter, Adelaïde, was married in 1810 to Lieutenant Samuel Adams Lowe, a graduate of West Point. Their only son, Enoch Louis, was born at the Hermitage in 1820. He entered St. John's College in Frederick Town and completed his studies in England under the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. On his return to Maryland, Lowe became the Democratic leader of the western counties. He was elected to the House of Delegates in 1845, and at the age of thirty took office as Maryland's thirty-second governor. In 1857 he refused the post of minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to China. A southern sympathizer, Lowe moved to Augusta, Georgia, in 1861 and remained there, the guest of the Dugas family, until peace was declared. He died in Brooklyn in 1892.[68] His children shared the ardent Catholicism of Governor Lowe. One daughter became a religious of the Sacred Heart, while two others married into the devout Jenkins family of Baltimore.[69]

[67] A sketch of the Bellumeau de la Vincendière family was written by Caroline de Petray Begouen for her cousin, Adelaide Lowe Jenkins. A copy is in the possession of Miss Grace A. Dugas of Baltimore.

[68] *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX (New York, 1899), 305.

[69] George Norbury Mackenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, II (Baltimore, 1911), 46.

IX

Freemasonry had flourished in St. Domingo, and the refugees re-established several of their lodges in American ports. To Baltimore a band of Masons from Cap-François brought a Chartered Chapter of the Rite Rose Croix de Hérédom under the distinctive title of La Vérité. Records, jewels, and a full treasury had been saved from the Negroes and these the brethren installed in their lodge house at the head of Calvert Street Wharf.[70]

Members of La Vérité applied to the Grand Lodge of Maryland for a Dispensation to open a Lodge working the symbolic degrees. The request was granted and in 1794 the brethren received a Warrant to work according to the Ancient York Rite. Their distinctive title was Veritas Sancti Johannes. Edmé Ducatel was master of the lodge.[71] Because of the political tension between the United States and France Veritas Sancti Johannes returned its charter to the Grand Lodge in 1798.

A number of years later former members of the French lodge organized Les Frères Réunis Number Sixty-Eight. In 1822 it was resolved "that the language of this Lodge should be English instead of French, as heretofore," and the name was changed to King David's Number Sixty-Eight.[72]

X

The refugees from St. Domingo greatly strengthened the Catholic Church in Maryland, for there were clerics and hundreds of zealous laymen in the emigration.[73] Several Creole priests were

[70] Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* . . . (4 vols., Baltimore, 1884-1886), I, 201, 202.

[71] *Ibid.*, II, 173.

[72] *Ibid.*, II, 383, 384.

[73] That some Americans viewed this increase of the Catholic body with disfavor is attested by the following quotation, which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of August 23, 1793, and which was printed in French in the issue of August 30:

"Let foreigners . . . who are not of the communion of the Church of England, or Protestant Episcopal Church, be told, by their candid and well-informed friends,

"1. That they will be considered as *Dissenters* by our laws, and may of course expect a treatment corresponding with the inferiority of that subordinate character.

"2. That their churches, and other congregational property, will have no more protection than if they were Mahometan mosques, or Pagan temples, while the churches, and parochial property of the Protestant Episcopals, enjoy the additional security of particular laws, which incorporate their vestries, enabling them to hold, protect, and defend the premises, for the use and benefit of that highly-favored denomination."

assigned to country parishes. Adrien Cibot became pastor of Bohemia Manor and Marcel-Guillaume Pasquet de Leyde, " former almoner of the government and of the general hospital of Port-au-Prince," was assigned to Deer Creek. At St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, Père Jean-François Moranvillé, a missioner of the Holy Ghost who had fled from the Revolution in Guyanne, preached a sermon in French daily at the eight o'clock Mass.[74]

To judge by the number of French entries on the parish registers it would seem that the St. Domingans doubled the Catholic population of Baltimore. Among the refugees buried in St. Peter's Churchyard were: Nicolas O'Rourke, son of Patrick and Marie-Angèle-Renée (de Veteaux) O'Rourke, captain of the Walsh Regiment; Nicolas-François-Just Michel, a native of Fontainebleau, " late Notary General of the Western Part of St. Domingo," who died at Fell's Point in August, 1795; de la Perrière, a native of Chamberry, Savoy, and a surgeon of Petit-Goave, St. Domingo; and Anne-Josephine de Laprade, wife of the commander of artillery and adjutant general of the southern part of St. Domingo, who died in 1799.[75]

XI

In spite of the French Minister's failure to contribute to the support of the first émigrés, it must not be thought that the French Government lost interest in the refugees once they set foot on American soil. Consuls and vice-consuls throughout the country demanded that the St. Domingans declare the date of their emigration and register the births and deaths in their families. Republicans were asked to apprise newcomers of these formalities " qui ne sont point des formes nouvelles, elles sont au contraire tres ancienne, sous l'Ancien Regime. Elles sont trop utiles pour devoir etre negligees sous le nouveau." [76] This explanation, no doubt, was intended to allay the fears of the Royalists.

Notices appeared in the local press informing those French citizens " who have continued faithful to the Republic and who

[74] John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1888), 454; *Cathedral Records: from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1906).

[75] Transcripts of the early parish registers of St. Peter's Church are owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

[76] See *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), March 27, 1794.

desire to return to their own firesides" that the consul in New York would defray the cost of their passage home.

A few of the Creoles in Maryland accepted the consul's offer, but their departure made little difference to the St. Domingan community. Refugees continued to be married to each other by French priests and their shops and schools were to thrive on American patronage for many years to come.

The restoration of the Bourbons, however, drew off the leaders of the Baltimore colony. Those who remained conformed more and more to American cultural patterns and with the Anglicization of the French lodge in 1822, the St. Domingans made no further effort to maintain themselves as a separate group. But the influence that the refugees had exerted in educational, artistic and professional fields furnished a leaven, the results of which, although not subject to measurement, left a definite impress on Maryland.

MRS. GEORGE CALVERT
(Rosalie Eugenia Stier)
(1778–1821)

and her eldest child, Caroline Maria (1800-1842), later Mrs. Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia. Painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1805. Now owned by Mrs. Morris Murray.

THE CALVERT–STIER CORRESPONDENCE

Letters from America to the Low Countries, 1797-1828.

Edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

"At last we are here—citizens of Annapolis and after two or three more wearisome days we shall be ready to welcome you to our new home." Thus wrote Rosalie Stier to her brother Jean in December, 1797, soon after the Stier family emigrated from Belgium. This was the first sentence of the first letter in a long correspondence between the young lady and the brother who returned to live in the old country. Rosalie married an American and raised a family in the new land, and when she died, her son continued the letter-writing where she left off. Many of the epistles were preserved by the Stiers at "Clydael," the country estate near Antwerp, and were translated from the original French through the efforts of Mr. John Ridgely Carter, who lived in Paris for many years.* The portions quoted here contain comments on politics, society, literature, plantation life, and European events. They give an unusually interesting view of the contemporary scene as described by an alert observer.

The Stiers had been prominent in the Low Countries for a long time. Descended from the painter Rubens, Henri Stier of Amsterdam married Cornelia van Tetz; and their son Albert, who moved to Antwerp, married Hélène de Labistrate. This lady obtained from the Empress Maria Theresa for her eldest son, Jean François Stier, the title of Baron de Stier, with the addition of two flying pennants to the family coat of arms. Henri Joseph Stier (1743-1821), another son (fifth among ten children), was a member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp. He married (1767) Marie Louise Peeters, daughter of Jean Gilles Peeters, a wealthy merchant, and Mathilde Françoise van den Cruyce. There were three children: Isabel, married (1790) to the Baron Jean van Havre; Charles, married (1794) to Marie van Havre, sister of Isabel's husband; and Rosalie

* The translations have been deposited with the Maryland Historical Society by their owner, Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin, of Elkridge, Md., a great-granddaughter of Rosalie Stier.

Eugenia, a girl not yet grown. These were the writers of the letters extracted in this paper.

The French Revolution was responsible for the emigration of the Stiers to the United States. The spread of mob rule and violence in France, featuring attacks on the noble and wealthy classes, caused alarm among members of similar groups in nearby countries. The news of the battle of Fleurus created something akin to panic in June, 1794, and there was a general movement to escape from the approaching French troops. The Stiers went to Amsterdam and there contracted with Keran Fitzpatrick, master of an American ship, the *Adriana*, to convey to the United States seven members of the family, two servants, and a large quantity of baggage. The vessel sailed August 25th and reached Philadelphia early in October. There Henri Joseph Stier engaged in various commercial enterprises for a year, and then, in the autumn of 1795, moved to Annapolis in Maryland.[1]

Henri Joseph Stier was the author of two missives which antedated by several weeks the beginning of the correspondence between his daughter and his son, and which may serve as an introduction to Rosalie's letters. The comments on the "gloomy prospect for American business" and the worthlessness of paper money reflect the disturbed state of affairs arising from the conflict with France. The account of the flight of the ladies from the gallery of the Assembly chamber describes an amusing episode in Annapolitan life during the last decade of the eighteenth century. The story of the encounter in the stagecoach gives a picturesque glimpse of the character of the great Sam Chase.

[Henri Joseph Stier to unknown, Annapolis, September, 1797]

. . . I cannot combat the opinions you express on the actual state of things in Europe, but I cannot on the other hand admit such measures as you wish consequently to take to be justifiable. I think we must wait for some time, and see if business gets better. Warson's failure created a great sensation here. To my great surprise it is more spoken of than any other affair of that kind, and even with feeling, as if people were interested in the thing. The losses of your town are cited in the gazettes. You must all be in great embarrassment. What is most fatal is that your town has no prospect of repairing her losses, only trading with the islands, which will be more difficult in the future. For be assured that France will

[1] Baron Hervé de Gruben, "Une famille d'emigrés belges aux Etats-unis pendant la Révolution Française," *Belgium*, I (1941), 7-14, gives some account of the Stier family.

not take any settlement and the pillage of the pirates and the division of the islands will go from bad to worse. Therefore put all your energy into play to recover all that is possible and do not flatter your hopes of a propitious future. Those who sink into distress now will not be able to rise again, I believe. Do not be easy-going. Have you already brought your business in Philadelphia to an end? I should be delighted to hear so. Do not lose any time, for every day makes recovery more difficult. I foresee a gloomy prospect for American business. My gardener is getting worse. I shall be obliged to dismiss him. Can you not get some sort of advice as to whether I risk having difficulties with him about his wages? This is the state of affairs: A gardener in Antwerp in my pay sent at my request one of his sons aged about seventeen to America, where he has been with me since April 1796. Without having made any stipulation with him in regard to wages, I had arranged with his father to pay him a certain sum annually. So up to the present time I have paid him some money besides the costs of his journey from Europe to America and the expenses of his lodging and clothing. I want to know in event of his leaving me unwillingly what would be the young man's rightful claims against me?

. . . Our town is in a great bustle of merriment occasioned by the marriage of Miss Murray. One day at the Loges', another at the Scotts', at the Keys', at the Cooks, and a superb entertainment at the Carrolls; a ball for the Legislature is a return by the legislative body this time made up nearly entirely of very frivolous young people of the aristocratic and democratic parties, but both in unison to please the belles who gratefully assist at the legislative assemblies by way of return. A rather amusing incident occurred to-day. For several days there has been a discussion on the subject of the use the State of Maryland should make of the treasury funds, and the import is grave. The debate had been as to whether shares should be taken in the new Bank of Maryland established last year in Baltimore, or invested for the second time in the company for the canal to be run from the Potomac to George Town. Mr. Maxon is promoting the latter project here. During this debate several parties of ladies had been in the assembly of delegates. The decision was in favor of the Bank. The Senate rejected the resolution. To-day some ladies of an inferior kind unfortunately came to the Assembly. The case on docket was an appeal for a marriage separation,[2] whose report was liable to contain the ordinary incidents in such a case. At the time of the opening address, a member arose and glancing at the gallery, said he saw just cause that the case should not be discussed that day. Another member observed that the reasons valid for the honourable member would exist and had existed every day. Consequently a third delegate was sent as Deputy to the offenders to explain to them the dilemma. In a minute the whole gallery had taken flight as if the devil had chased them. . . .

[2] *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) for September 18, 1797, carried William Barroll's notice that he would petition the Assembly for divorce from his wife.

You ask my advice as to your plan of buying a house. I strongly dissuade you from any purchase of property, as I have no doubt that everything is going to decrease in value. But if you can not liquidate your debts except by these means, there can be no hesitation about the undertaking. The circulation you intend to give paper is a violent remedy which will lead definitely to nothing. Reflect at length, and be persuaded that paper of that kind can never be converted into money. The law systems of France, the *assignats* of to-day, and American paper money all amount to nothing. Be convinced (and profit by the conviction) that paper money only has some value at the very first, and one must take advantage of this knowledge to get rid of it and to realize the best possible price, but at all costs to get rid of it. None of your merchants will recover from their failure. Your town was in an abnormal state; the least shock would have inevitably brought down on your head the present situation. Be chary of paying in silver and redeem all the paper possible. The notes of your merchants will be like Morris'. Write me by each post on this subject and do not be misled. This state of things changes my design to purchase bank shares and I am holding on to my assignments till you inform me on the subject.

[Henri Joseph Stier to unknown, Annapolis, November 23, 1797]

. . . I have received a letter from Fitzpatrick who thanked me for the welcome that I had given him, sent you his kind regards, and made me a present of two dozen bottles of Bordeaux. He is going with Fitzsimmons on an expedition to Havana for sugar cane and for cocoa destined for Spain, and from Spain he travels as supercargo to Bordeaux and will bring back wine of the local brand, and within a month he will have returned to Philadelphia. He says he did not intend to go to sea this winter, but he was tempted by the prospect of a good voyage. He hopes we shall have given up the idea of returning [to the Low Countries] by the time he returns, especially in view to the actual state of political affairs.

. . . My household is running as smoothly as possible. Nevertheless I feel I am on the point of being left without a single servant at any moment, and compelled to milk my cows, feed the calves, and split the wood. Next December I may perhaps be on the streets! I am afraid of everything down to attorneys—with all the more reason because I am at odds with the myrmidons of the law. You know that I had an upset going to Baltimore, and on leaving Baltimore the last person to enter the stage was a huge man with a stentorian voice. Behold justice incarnate! He was Chase,[3] one of the most prominent judges of Maryland, and the greatest cart-horse I ever knew! He planted himself in front of me on top of me, and I had to turn sideways and thrust my elbow in his back. The man having evidently had the lion's share everywhere, did not find me so complaisant and took exception to my posture. I replied spiritedly that I was in my right place and he should confine himself to his. If

[3] Samuel Chase (1741-1811), justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1796 to 1811.

there had been a retort to this the discussion would have grown heated, but he did not allow me to continue. "Never mind, never mind" was his reply. However he did not change his posture, and it may have been through antipathy to his profession that I called his attention to my discomfort. Finally he complied with my request, but woe to my pleas before the Supreme Court! . . .

Rosalie Stier's first two letters to her brother show something of her initial reactions to life in the new country. It appears that the family decided at one point to return to Antwerp, and planned a grand tour in a phaeton before starting the sea voyage.

[Rosalie Stier to Jean Charles Stier, Annapolis, December 7, 1797]

At last we are here—citizens of Annapolis and after two or three more wearisome days we shall be ready to welcome you to our new home. The room reserved for you is the most cheerful of all. Mamma is sleeping there while her own is being put in order. I am busied with a jungfrau for your benefit and she is much amused. The household is moving smoothly and we have a very fat cook who makes delicious tarts.

It seems to me that you are very fine with all your grandees, your Viscounts and your Chevaliers! That will not help to reconcile my sister-in-law [4] with the 'blue' dial as she calls it. We saw the Chevalier to-day but by ill-luck the Viscount is not passing by here. I am sorry that I cannot as yet describe in detail the fashions for the gentlemen for I have not seen enough to be able to judge but when I am more familiar with them I shall write to you. The new hats have very high crowns a little smaller at the top than at the base. . . . But, my dear brother, is it possible that you wished to come here on horse back? That is not practicable at this time of the year and besides you could not bring luggage with you! and you wished to journey North in this fashion! Reflect for a minute and you will see that it is impossible! Your wife would have to wear a cloak over a pelisse at the very least! your face and hands would freeze, and then what a strange way to travel in the winter. You would not be received in any boarding house. In your place I should buy a pretty phaeton with two little ponies. It is the best way to travel unless you go by the public stagecoach which is even better as it is only half filled in the winter. You could put Witchke somewhere to pasture until you return. My poor Brilliany has been sold to a tailor here but we still have the pet Bucephalus and the two carriage horses—all at Strawberry Hill.[5] . . .

[4] Jean Charles Stier and his wife were in America at the time these letters were written.

[5] "Strawberry Hill" was the place near Annapolis occupied for a time by the Stiers. The *Maryland Gazette* for October 5, 1797, contained an advertisement: "Lost from the shore of Strawberry Hill, a small row boat about twelve feet long. $2.00 reward. H. J. Stier." The property later became the County Almshouse, but in 1823 was sold and finally passed to the Government for use as a farm to supply the Naval Academy. It is now the site of the Academy golf course.

[Rosalie Stier to Jean Charles Stier, n. d.]

. . . My dear Brother, now that our return to Europe is settled for the month of June, in what way do you feel about it? Favorably or adversely? We shall not know until we have arrived and experienced the differences, at any rate. At present we are growing used to our citizenship in Annapolis and we are to make the rounds in the coach tomorrow for the first time. . . . As soon as spring comes on we are going from Bath to Niagara Falls in a phaeton with our two small ponies. Isn't that a good idea? Our new house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream! What more could I wish for? . . .

The next letter was written by Rosalie Stier's brother-in-law, Jean Michel Van Havre, from Alexandria, Virginia. The early part deals with business matters; then, after a few personal comments, there are some interesting predictions on the outcome of the campaigns in Europe.

[Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, Alexandria, July 13, 1800]

. . . Write me the price of stocks. Nothing is to be done here. Alexandria bank shares were sold at 183½ under offer. The Insurance Companies shares are giving no dividends this quarter. The dividend of the Bank shares is 4½ per cent. for the last six months or nine dollars per share. The Insurance Company shares are no longer on sale. I find some Bank shares bought in October, 1798; but I cannot remember when or how they were paid for. You transacted the business, so you will probably know how it was done. I find also 600 dollars loaned to Andrew and William Ramsey. I know they have returned the amount, but I cannot discover what became of the money. I suppose that you partly purchased the Bank shares with it. Please write me about what you know of it. All the other accounts are correct.

. . . My children, my wife[6] and myself are all very well. Edouard takes a very cold bath every morning and cries like a young eagle. But that does not matter. He has to go through it, as it is very good for him. You must positively make a trip north with your wife or she will certainly have a relapse next winter. You must not delay longer. All this cupping, powders, drugs, et cetera, are chips in porridge. Only the sea air and the amusement occasioned by the journey will do her lasting good. There is a physician in Dumfries who made use of a herb called fox gloves with exceptional success. You may suggest it to Doctor Schaeff.

The campaign has opened with a broken nose on one side and a black

[6] Isabel Marie Stier married Van Havre, who was, like his father-in-law, a member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp.

eye on the other. It will probably be another wasted year. Moreau will drive Krey back to Bavaria harassing the Austrians at the cost of an enormous loss of life so that his army will be so weakened by these successes as to be unable to meet Krey. Then Moreau will in turn be repulsed, but the season will be too advanced to admit of protracted sieges and both armies will go into winter quarters.[7] The campaigns of '95, '96 and '97 were like that and so will be the campaign of 1800 in Germany and in Italy. Even if Buonaparte defeats Melas, the fortresses and the nation will render it impossible for him to make great headway in Italy.[8] If Melas defeats Buonaparte it will be about the same, for he will be held back from the complete conquest of Switzerland by the remainder of the army of Massena, probably reinforced by new recruits. If Krey could beat Moreau the balance wiuld turn; Buonaparte would be obliged to abandon either Massena or Moreau, for he could not aid both effectively; but I see very little probability for that outcome. Moreau seems more skilled than Krey. Why is not the Archduke there? . . .

Rosalie Stier (1778-1821) was married June 11, 1799, to George Calvert (1768-1838), son of Benedict Swingate or Calvert (*c.* 1724-88), the natural son of Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore, and Elizabeth Calvert, daughter of Governor Charles and Rebecca (Gerrard) Calvert. When she next took up her pen to write her brother, she was living at Bladensburg (probably at the estate now known as " Riversdale "), not far from the newly established capital of the nation.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Bladensburg, December 30, 1801]

. . . I came back to-day from the Federal City, where we spent several days with Mrs. Law,[9] who is certainly almost the most charming woman I have met in this country. I was surrounded there by Ambassadors and Ministers. Society will be very brilliant this winter. You asked me to write you all the society gossip but the time at my disposal does not allow me to do so now. I am planning to begin my diary tomorrow. My husband asks me to say that he will write to you next. My little Caroline[10] is very well and is growing rapidly. She runs around now and is beginning to talk. We come very often to Bladensburg which seems to give Papa and Mamma pleasure. . . .

[7] Moreau was put in command of the army for the invasion of Germany, crossed the Rhine, gained control of Bavaria, and won the battle of Höhenlinden near Munich before there was an armistice.

[8] Napoleon himself took charge of the Army of Italy, crossed the Alps, entered Milan, went on to defeat the Austrian general Melas at Marengo, and continued his drive until peace came.

[9] Eliza Parke Custis (1776-1832), eldest child of John Parke Custis and Eleanor Calvert (sister of Rosalie Stier's husband), married the Englishman, Thomas Law (1756-1834), but later separated from him.

[10] Caroline Maria Calvert, born July 15, 1800, married June 19, 1823, Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia, died November 25, 1842.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Bladensburg, December 30, 1801]

. . . I must now tell you the great event of Annapolis society. Polly Lloyd is to be married next month to Frank Key who has nothing and who has only practiced two years. They are going to live in Frederick-town.[11] The number of my nieces and nephews increases incredibly. In two months I shall have four more, and I hope that you will soon announce the expectation of a fifth. My little Caroline grows charming! She has begun to prattle and is extremely merry and vivacious. Her father idolizes her. But do not be afraid! we do not spoil her at all. My husband came back to-day from the 'Federal City' and bids me send his love to you and Mimi and to say that there is nothing now in politics which is at all interesting. He witnessed the arrival of the celebrated mammoth coach presented to Jefferson by the Democrats. It was drawn by five beautiful horses. . . .

There was more talk in 1802 of returning to the Low Countries, and this time, strangely enough, it was the elder Stiers who balked at the necessary upheaval. The change had been made and they had become used to it—why give up a good situation for another trans-Atlantic voyage with uncertainty to be found on the other side?

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Mont Alban, July 3, 1802]

. . . We were very surprised to receive your pressing invitation to return. I did not expect Mamma and Papa would be so opposed to it. It appears to give them much pain to think of going back to the same country they left with so much regret! As to us, my dear Brother, I cannot imagine how you could have thought it feasible for my husband to leave in a month all his property consisting as it does entirely of real estate. How could he have possibly managed it? But supposing even that it was possible, how could we subsist over there? You understand how hard it is to find a good tenant for good estates and how still more difficult it is to find an industrious honest overseer, and no matter how well they were managed we would not derive nearly so much profit from them as if we remained on the spot. My husband did not intend to marry and so he has only begun to cultivate his estates during the last three or four years. Before he did not pay any attention to them and time is required for making profitable three plantations which consisted nearly entirely of woodland. It would therefore be impossible for us to sail before spring after next. If Papa and Mamma leave next spring it will be very sad for me to remain here alone. Do you think, dear Brother, my husband would grow used to

[11] Francis Scott Key (1779-1843) married January 19, 1802, Mary Tayloe Lloyd (1784-1859), daughter of Col. Edward and Elizabeth (Tayloe) Lloyd of "Wye." The diary of William Faris, Annapolis silversmith, recorded the event: "Jan. 19th. to Night Miss Polly Lloyd to be married to Mr. Fk. Key." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1938), 239.

our country? I am very much afraid that he would not. Not that he is so much attached to America, for I believe he would like to live in England if our means allowed it, but that is very different from our country. However, from your descriptions, I think social life must have gained by the revolution since gayety and ease have taken the place of the cold formality which formerly threw a cold chill on every amusement; but I am surprised that an *amateur des arts* like yourself should not approve of the clinging dress which gives the painter and sculptor opportunity to contemplate and study beauties formerly left to their imagination. In this more virtuous land only the contours are perceived through filmy batiste—a subtler fashion. Several of your Annapolis acquaintances are married; among others Polly Lloyd, whom I mentioned in my last letter, and Betsey Cook [12] who married one of the most prominent Baltimore merchants, but it is believed that she will die from a cold she caught at a ball where she wore a Greek dress. . . .

You probably know of the death of Mrs. Washington. Young Custis [13] offered to buy Mount Vernon but Bushrod Washington did not want to sell it (or rather his wife did not agree). I am expecting her here in several days to spend the artolan and blue wings season with us. . . .

When Rosalie Calvert's sister, Isabel Van Havre, wrote their brother in the spring of 1803, the elder Stiers and the Van Havres had decided to leave America after all. Isabel's pleasure at this move is apparent, and her comment that Rosalie " would be much more attractive if she were less American " indicates in an amusing way that some of the family really had not " caught the spirit of the land."

[Isabel S. Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, March 1, 1803]

. . . I hope to sail in less than two months and this thought consoles me for all the discomforts I may still undergo. I have not written you for the last two or three months, although I had a number of letters from you which gave me untold pleasure, but I have been in too low spirits to correspond since the death of my lovely little baby. I have had nothing but unhappiness. I have wished myself a thousand times in Anvers. Everything tends to make me more than ever disgusted with this country, but let us not discuss it for in a little while we shall be in each other's arms and all the trouble will be forgotten. Meanwhile I am determined to keep up to the end the task I have undertaken and not to lose courage so near port. It has given me pain, nevertheless, to perceive how often justice has not been rendered to me and to feel that I am not appreciated, as you said in one of your letters. I have indeed gone through trials enough! We

[12] Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of William Cooke and his wife Elizabeth Tilghman, married Robert Gilmor of Baltimore.

[13] Martha (Dandridge) Custis Washington died May 22, 1802. George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857) was her grandson and a son of George Calvert's sister, Eleanor.

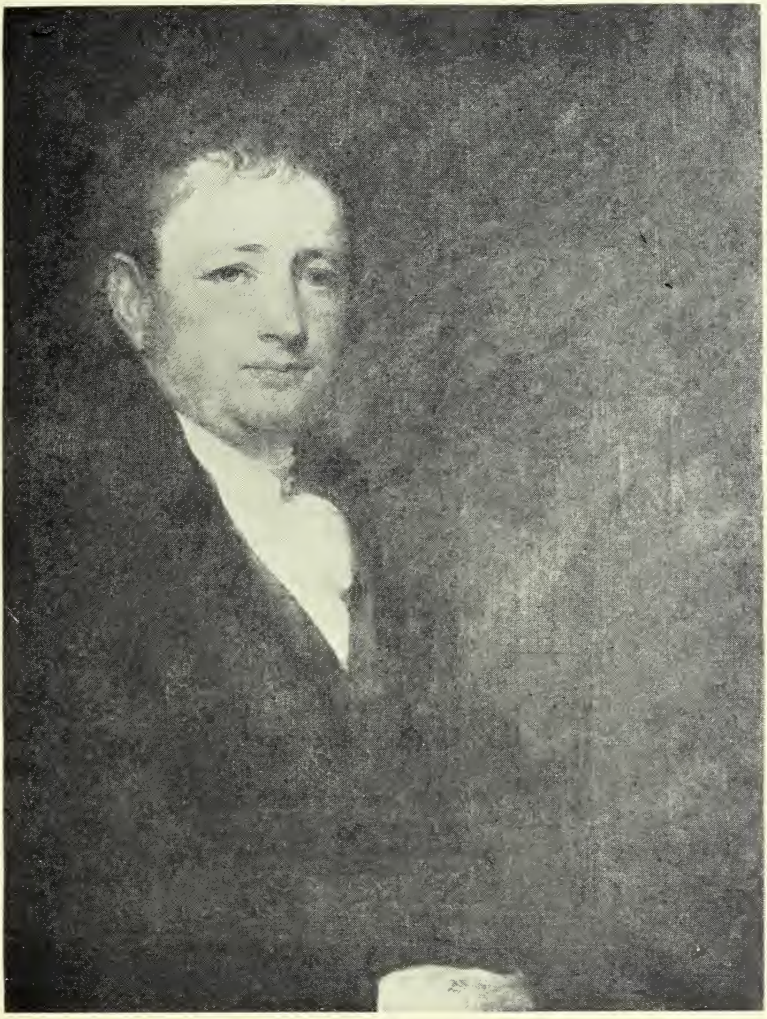
have begun to pack up the furniture Mamma wishes to take to Europe with her, so I have been busy the last two days and cannot answer all your inquiries. I shall defer the discussion of all of them until we are together. Rosalie is still here with her two children. Her husband is coming Saturday and returns home Monday. Her baby got ill when fifteen days or three weeks old and has not been well since. However he has been better for the last few days. The wife of Will Scot, her coachman, helps her to nurse him, so he has two nurses. (This woman is an excellent nurse.) Rosalie intended to be confined here on the fifteenth of January, but on the second of January an express messenger came to tell us that this Dauphin had made his entry into this world at her home.[14] Mamma and I went there through a deep snow. I came back the next day. Mamma stayed over a fortnight, then I went to relieve her, and after three or four weeks Rosalie came with me to Bladensburg where she has been ever since. She is much better since her confinement, and does not suffer from the fever she had so badly. She does not intend to come with us to Europe. I suppose she will get ready to visit us in a year or so to try the life in Belgium, of which she does not seem to have the good opinion with which you credit her. She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be much more attractive if she were less American! . . .

[Isabel S. Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, April 10, 1803]

All the hyacinths are nearly in full bloom, which divert Papa and though they cause great loss of time they put him in good spirits. He has advertised them for public sale without reflecting how we should be over run with people. Now we have to escape them by the door or windows like very Harlequins. There is a Mrs. Carroll of Baltimore who has written asking to see them before the sale. I am afraid we shall have to entertain her here. Doctor Scott is coming too and Heaven knows who else besides! The other day a whole car load of ladies and gentlemen came from Georgetown, but as we did not know them we were dispensed from very active politeness. . . .

George Calvert wrote his brother-in-law a few days later, and mentioned again the most important reason for remaining in America: the development of an estate which had been allowed to run wild for years. There is a suggestion of the large part played by Henri Stier in the construction and arrangement of "Riversdale," the home which was completed in 1803 and which was the family headquarters in the succeeding decades. It is interesting to note Stier's difficulty in managing Negroes.

[14] George Henry Calvert was born January 2, 1803, married May 8, 1829, Elizabeth Steuart (1802-97), daughter of James and Rebecca (Sprigg) Steuart, and died May 24, 1889, without issue.



GEORGE CALVERT

(1768–1838)

Son of Benedict Calvert of "Mount Airy" and brother-in-law of "Jacky" Custis. Painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1805. Now owned by Mrs. Morris Murray.

[George Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, April 20, 1803]

. . . You will readily suppose that Rosalie and myself had indulged the fond hope of Papa and Mama's remaining on this side of the Atlantic, after having done so much towards fixing a residence by the improvements made upon the farm, but if it cannot be so, we must yield to the necessity and like good republicans submit to the majority who are entitled to decide, and content ourselves with praying for their return accompanied by you and Mrs. Stier. My dear Rosalie seems prepared to meet the event with that fortitude and good sense for which I think she is preeminent, and it has not failed (if that were possible) to increase the high regard I have for her, when I consider she parts with all her friends for her husband.

You are well acquainted with the nature and situation of my property, the proceeds of which much depends upon management. This was little attended to before my marriage, since which I have made considerable improvements in the agricultural line, which will enable me to make an abundance for our support here, but were I to leave my land at this time I fear the profits would not enable me to live so comfortably in Europe. We must therefore give up the idea of seeing you shortly but shall not relinquish the pleasing hope of again seeing those we so sincerely esteem and regard. . . .

Papa has made considerable improvements upon the plantation. There still remains a great deal to do which would serve him for amusement did he remain here. I fear he finds the management of negroes more troublesome than he expected; it certainly requires a large stock of patience. You will see from our public prints that we are still Democratic. It has produced no very bad effects as yet, but there is no telling where it will end. . . .

The parting had taken place before Rosalie Calvert resumed the correspondence with her brother. In her first letter from "Riversdale," there are some remarks of sympathy on the death of Jean Stier's wife, and then Rosalie comments briefly on the growth of Washington and its vicinity.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, September 12, 1803]

. . . I am very well now, and take much exercise—chiefly on horseback. Mrs. Lewis comes here three or four times a week. We ride together and several "cavaliers" accompany us. I am sure you would think our habits pretty. I gave a description of them to Mamma. Besides our "beaux" we both have a servant in livery *à l'Anglaise* who follows us. I have a very fine equipage now with four beautiful brown horses. I go to the Federal City nearly every day. The road has been made entirely of gravel. Bladensburg has become very brilliant indeed. People come from all directions to drink the waters on Sundays. All Georgetown in particular comes. So many people are dying at Alexandria that it is said to be—. I do not know if it is true, but it has raged from New York,

Philadelphia and Baltimore to this place. The drought has been fearful this year which causes the epidemic. We have never been so long without rain. . . .

The next letter mentions the " alarming " state of affairs in Europe and the beginnings of American conflict with the French-English ' war of decrees.'

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, June 13, 1804]

. . . I had hoped for a time to be able to come this summer, but after more mature reflection we found it impossible, it will be with great difficulty that we can put everything in order even for the spring, but we are resolved to leave then unless unforeseen events intervene. The French are now treating flagrantly the American ships they meet, ill-using all on board and pillaging like pirates. The state of Europe (if we can form a just estimate from the gazettes) is very alarming. I shall not tell you anything of politics here, as I have not time, McEwen having written me that the " Mars " is to leave for Anvers in four days, but I shall write to you on the next opportunity. . . .

Rosalie Calvert's comments on the American way of serving meals show that she was not completely converted to the customs of her adopted land. On the contrary, she expressed great admiration for the British, saying that comparison with other nations confirmed the preference more strongly each year.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, December 1, 1806]

. . . Our little Caroline is pretty and amiable and as good at present as she was naughty in her babyhood; the painter Stuart[15] who did our portraits last year never wearied admiring her and tells me she resembles extremely Mrs. Sheridan, the loveliest woman in London.

I see that the manner of serving your dinners has not changed and I prefer it greatly to the American mode of serving all the meats and vegetables together. One has not time to eat sufficiently before half the dishes are cold, so one must hurry to swallow everything as if one had not dined for a month, but though I approve so much of three courses I should like to divide them differently. Nothing cold should come on for the first and the *rotis* before the stews. As in this country everyone does as he likes I am going to introduce quite a new mode. I shall take the best fashions from the different countries. Mr. & Mrs. Merry,[16] whom

[15] Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) painted the portraits of the Calvert family during his stay in Washington, 1803-05, when he had a studio at I and 7th Streets and was " all the rage."

[16] Anthony Merry, British minister to the United States from 1803 to 1806. He and his wife, formerly Elizabeth Death, created a minor civil war in Washington society over the question of diplomatic precedence.

we are going to lose, lived in European style. They were extremely courteous to us and I am so sorry that they are recalled. Mr. Erskine,[17] who takes their place, will not live so well. He married at Philadelphia and is very young for an Ambassador. You are going to have still another general war in Europe whose issue it is impossible to foresee (in spite of the Paris *Moniteur*). That little island [England] gives Buonaparate enough work to do! For my part, I admire that nation every day more and more. In what does she not hold supremacy at this time, her government, her laws, and the impartiality with which justice is administered; the ministers and generals—nearly all not only men of distinguished talent but also of merit and virtue! With what heroism a Nelson, a Pitt, a Cornwallis, a Fox have so lately met their deaths![18] Giving at once example of courage and integrity beyond proof during their lives and of true piety in their last hours! What do you think, dear Brother, of the belief in predestination? I am rather of that persuasion. The education I received at Liège, my two trips to Spa, and several other circumstances contributed to give me this preference for the English, which a comparison with other nations only confirms more strongly from year to year. What then would have become of me if I had married a Frenchman, or even one of my fellow-countrymen. It would not have suited me, I think. . . .

Thomas Moore (1779-1852), the Irish poet, was the first literary figure to be discussed in the Calvert-Stier correspondence. Rosalie sent her brother a parcel of books containing Moore's works and gave her own reactions to them.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, January, 1807]

. . . I answer you only a few days afterwards and profit to-day by an opportunity offered me by a ship sailing from the Potomac, to write you and to send in a box addressed to Papa four books of the poems of Thomas Moore, which I beg you to accept. I have often read them and with renewed pleasure each time. Mr. Moore is a young man who is as agreeable in his manners as he is talented as a poet, and that is saying a great deal! He is much admired in England. He made a tour through America two years ago and wrote several very scathing articles on this country and its government. I hear my sister-in-law[19] is learning English. A perfect knowledge of the language is needed to appreciate the delicacies of Moore's style. If you care for these volumes, I will send you the rest of his works. The name of "Little" under which his first essays were published is

[17] David Montague Erskine (1776-1855), minister from 1806 to 1809. He married in 1799 Frances Cadwallader, daughter of Gen. John Cadwallader of Philadelphia.

[18] Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) died October 21, 1805, General Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805), governor general of India, died October 5, 1805, William Pitt (1750-1806) died January 23, 1806, and Charles James Fox (1749-1806) died September 13, 1806.

[19] Jean Charles Stier's second wife was Eugenie Van Ertborn.

fictititous. You will observe that he does not spare this country, but what he says refers to the Democrats and is not exaggerated. I do not know what is thought in Belgium but perhaps you will find some of these poems too freely expressed. I acknowledge that they would not be good for a young girl. He has been accused of the tendency to pervert public morals in his writings, but if you have continued to read English since your return to Europe you must be fascinated by the simplicity and elegance of his style and language. I have turned down the corners of several leaves in the book of odes and epistles—those I admire most.[20] Write me what you think of them. The "Fragments of a Journal," page 111, gives a charming description of a journey in a public stagecoach.

Society in Washington is very inferior just now! All the government officials, as well as the majority of members of Congress being Democrats and for the most part people of low extraction, so I do not go there often, and employ my leisure hours reading. Tell me how your ladies pass their days. They do not need, I suppose, to direct the most minor details in the care of their households and children as we must here. What is our brother Van Havre doing? Does he still get up at eleven o'clock? It is rarely the case that the rising sun finds me in bed. The morning is the best part of the day, the mind is more active and everything is done with more ease, and I believe that nothing contributes so much as early rising to the preservation of the youthful faculties. The habit is a little hard at the beginning, but, once contracted, it is much more agreeable.

Tell me, dear Brother, does your Eugenie improve in English? Are there any English people in Anvers and do you meet them? Do you talk of America sometimes, and what do they think of this country? The greatest failing I perceive in Americans is their heartlessness. They do not seem to feel anything deeply and are too prudent and reasonable to be lovable. We have a very nice little circle of neighbors we see often and unceremoniously. Your friend John Herbert who married Miss Snowden has built a house six miles away.[21] I am sorry Papa did not leave us the plans you made for the house, which would have helped us greatly. We are still working on it. . . .

The letters written in 1807 and 1808 indicate a determination to avoid controversial matters, to remain in the realms of domestic and artistic affairs. The comments on literary and theatrical events show a lively interest in cultural activities.. The essay on education presents an interesting point of view.

[20] Thomas Moore's *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little, Esq.*, sprightly amorous poetry, appeared first in 1801 and was published in Philadelphia in 1804. His *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (Philadelphia, 1806) contained severe attacks on America.

[21] Col. John Carlyle Herbert (1757-1846) married Mary Snowden, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Ridgely) Snowden of "Montpelier." He was a member of Congress from 1815 to 1819. The family home was "Walnut Grange," near the modern Beltsville.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, April 26, 1807]

. . . You sketch a truly amazing account of your campaign in Prussia, but I see, or at least I hope, from your gayety on the subject that you have no need to fear requisition from the Emperor. Our gazettes inform us of all that goes on in Europe. Here they continue to squabble without ceasing. I have taken a vow not to meddle in politics. They put everybody in a bad temper, not to say savage, and then I see so many women making themselves ridiculous by discussing politics at random without understanding the subject that I am disgusted with all controversy except about flowers, their culture absorbs me more every day, for as I go out very rarely it is my chief amusement. I am also teaching my two eldest children to read and they show much aptitude for learning. . . . We are very much occupied too in improving Riversdale, but there is still so much to do I despair of having it finished in less than ten years! You wrote that you could not find a statuette for such a small pedestal as the pillar of our staircase. I shold be so annoyed for I do not think a lamp would be so effective. If, however, you cannot find a statuette, will you please send me one you think most suitable? The pillar is five feet three inches in diameter. I should like so much to have two plaster casts for our north drawing room. Papa writes that they were all too indecent, but they have changed on that subject here. I should like to have one of the Apollo Belvedere and my husband says he must have the Venus de Medici sent too. He bids me give you many messages from him and has so much to do that he cannot write to-day. At all events, if the statues are such that I cannot put them in the drawing room., I shall put them in my husband's study. . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, May 5, 1808]

. . . You tell me that you yourself have little time to read or to draw, etc. You can then imagine how much less I have. Your household does not occasion you one half the trouble given me by mine. My children take up the rest of the day and when I go out or some one comes, they always suffer. I hardly have time to read a little every day, which is more interesting and amusing than music and restores me to good humor when the sordid household cares have irritated me. I never hear music, not even the old violin our old servant plays, without a sigh for the pleasure of the theatre and balls that I have so long been denied. Music makes me more sociable, but good reading makes us happier and more content with our daily existence, at least that is the effect it has on me. When I am at a dance or at a theatre, music exhilarates and enchants me—in short gives me keen pleasure, but alone in my home it recalls too vividly all the deprivations I undergo. I am reading just now Gesner's works, which are very well translated from German into English. I never admired him so much. What a fine style, so simple and touching! I was sure you would like Moore. Was there ever anything sweeter than his " Love and Reason " or the " Dismal Swamp " or the Anacreon's description of his mistress, Ode XVL. Moore is not liked here, as he is rather severe about the people

of this country, but what he says is true enough, which I suppose makes it still more offensive. But though he is my favorite I cannot pardon him for the way he speaks of the immortal Washington. It was not Appollo but Midas who inspired him when he attempted to portray that great man.

There is a very good theatre now in Philadelphia,[22] much superior to what it was when you saw it. In the spring the same company plays in Baltimore and disperses in the summer going to Alexandria and Washington sometimes, and to other small towns! How I should like to see the opera "Oedipe" in Paris like you, and if you saw your nephew George, who is a remarkably clever fellow, you would like to have a son like him! No one is content with their fate and we always believe that is best which we have not. But are you not a little romantic, *cher ami*, in your ideas on the education of children? You would like to carry out Rousseau's plan, but I hope that you would have the foresight to steal a mate for each one of your children to be educated in the same way as their future companions. Else after all your trouble, they might be the most unhappy of mortals all their life because of their greater degree of perfection! Believe me, these private educations which have been followed out with so much care and method often miss their purpose. Even here there are several examples of it. Among others, my charming niece Miss Stuart[23] in whom are united all the most lovable traits with the most sordid virtues, fitted to adorn the highest position, and because her father had no fortune to give her, she has married a Virginia *bonhomme* who loves her as a *facon*, that is all. Her sisters who are really her opposites will perhaps be more happy. Do we not also often see the greatest care and attention only produce imbeciles? What was Lord Chesterfield's son? The Duke of Hamilton educated by Doctor Moore, the Duke of Tuscany by I forget whom, while we see the greatest men having risen without any particular trouble having been taken with their education. I am determined to spare neither trouble nor expense to bring up our children well, but if they are not born with talents, believe me, they will never acquire them. George seems to have a great deal of talent and application and as soon as he is old enough I shall send him to college. Now I am teaching him to read and write myself.

. . . It is difficult to see clearly in political matters at present. We are perfectly informed as to what goes on in Europe. What a singular situation for all the Continent just now! It seems to me that cannot last long. It is like Rome and Carthage, as Papa says. Isn't this expedition to India impossible, and may not England succomb at last to this current which sweeps over all? . . .

[22] Chestnut Street Theatre, managed by William Warren and Alexander Reinagle. For an account of the company which played there, see Reese D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia. A History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1800-1835* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 1*ff*.

[23] George Calvert's sister Eleanor, widow of John Parke Custis, married 2nd Dr. David Stuart, first of "Hyde Park" and then of "Ossian Hall" in Fairfax County, Virginia. Their daughter, Ann Calvert Stuart, became the second wife of William Robinson of "Bunker Hill."

The Calverts' way of life is pictured clearly in Rosalie's epistle to her brother in December, 1808. The urge to travel was gone and attention was turned to improvements on the estate, to horseback riding, to visits with a small group of people, and to literature. There are some observations on the political scene, with the first suggestions of sectional conflict and the hint that "if Madison continues the same system as Jefferson we shall be on the brink of a civil war."

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, December 10, 1808]

. . . I do not know if it is indolence or the impossibility of carrying it out, but the taste for travelling no longer tempts me. It is undoubtedly agreeable to see lovely landscapes, above all, in the society of loved ones, but the inconvenience to which one is subjected before reaching them, the bad beds, and musty inns, etc., seem to me to counteract all the pleasure one gets, added to which there is the regret for the loss of charming acquaintances met on the journey never to be seen again! I would go more willingly fifty leagues to see a fine play than fifty of the most beautiful scenery.

I am so much obliged to you for the execution of all my commissions. I regret infinitely that you could not send them to me before this aggravating embargo came on. We work always here without a pause. A lake just finished which looks like a large river before the house on the southern side gives a very beautiful effect, and furnished us at the same time with fish and ice for our ice-house. I have intended a hundred times to send you our plan, but when I am writing to you I have always too little time to copy it. The old ice-house near the house was not good, as it leaked. We have built a new one in the wood beyond the stables. It is covered with straw and surrounded with great fine trees and looks like a hut; a little farther on a negro cabin gives the same effect and another we intend to build supported by columns will look like a temple. Our flower garden on the terrace is not yet completed, but I am raising a quantity of heliotropes to transplant outdoors in summer time with the geraniums, jasmine, rose bushes, etc. On the north side we have the loveliest possible lawn.

Have you read "Corrine" by Madame Stael-Holstein, an extremely interesting new romance?[24] I should like to be able to send it to you. In such a retired life reading is a relaxation after my domestic cares. It is nevertheless only rarely that I read romances. The better they are written the less they contribute to happiness. Poems, books on travel and lives of our contemporaries (formerly not obtainable until after their death) are my favourites. You know how books travel in this country from place to place (much to the detriment of their covers), but it is an excellent idea. The expense of a complete library would be too great, so every one pur-

[24] *Corinne; ou, L'Italie* (Paris 1807), 2 vols.

chases every year several volumes and they are loaned around and their merits discussed which clears up the estimates on both sides. You do not understand, you write, dear Brother, how anyone could attach so much importance to the care of a tree, to an equipage or to a piece of furniture. But you are very fortunate to be able to pass your time with friends at will, while I am far removed from all those dear to me in whose society I could freely give way to my impulses. I must confess that a visit, above all, from women, seems often too long for me. There are so few really amusing people. We have added a Mr. Stodert [25] to our set. He is a very learned man who has ruined himself in speculations of all kinds. His two daughters are extremely attractive and better bred than young American girls generally are. Having lost their mother when they were young, their father has brought them up in a way of which he should certainly reap the reward in comparing them with their companions.

I ride horseback sometimes, and I bought a very fine horse last year. A good lady's horse is difficult to find, so, as this one was perfect, my husband was induced to give two hundred dollars for him. We always have four fine carriage horses. Our old carriage is very dilapidated and with this new blockade a new one is not to be thought of. Quite a small vehicle serves me to go shopping to Georgetown. But what I should like to describe to you is a pony of my husband's called Savage of the race called Texas pony. He was caught quite young with his mother in Mexico and some time I shall send you his portrait. Black as ebony with a white stripe beginning at the head and continuing over his quarters, and two more on each side joining at the neck. It is the most beautiful animal I have ever seen. Several people have wanted to buy it to send it to England. We have two of its foals at present which promise to be very beautiful too.

. . . We are alarmed from time to time about the National bonds. People dare to speak openly of the dissolution of the States. I am often anxious on this subject. You are all so far away that you cannot be warned of the danger till too late. Perhaps I am a false prophet (and I hope so indeed) but it appears very certain that a government such as this can only last a short time. Every year they change something, the eastern States become daily more bitter against the southern States, and the latter instead of conciliating them do all they can to widen the breach,. In short that cannot go on and what will be the result? No one dares to face the issue, but if Madison continues the same system as Jefferson we shall be on the brink of a civil war. . . .

(To be continued)

[25] Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813), first Secretary of the Navy (1789 to 1801), lived in Georgetown. His wife, Rebbecca Lowndes, daughter of a Bladensburg merchant, died in 1800. Stoddert's later years were filled with pecuniary embarrassments.

"WAR PARK" OR "RYLIE'S DISCOVERY"

Residence at Bladensburg, Maryland, of the Reverend John Bowie when curate of Rock Creek Church, Prince George's Parish. It was owned later by his nephew, Colonel Thomas Bowie, who, after the War of 1812, called this place "War Park."

THE REVEREND JOHN BOWIE, TORY

By Lucy Leigh Bowie

"The undaunted, independent and uncompromising John Bowie, D. D., of Talbot, so prominent in his day in the Church of Maryland." It was thus that the historian, the Rev. Ethan Allen, wrote of him. To this can be added that he was a native of Maryland who went to college in Scotland and married there into an interesting family connection; that although he was a loyalist, he could have been the first biographer of Washington; he was deeply interested in the establishment of education in Maryland and he was also one of those clergymen whom tradition has called the "Fighting Parsons."

This John Bowie, the third of his name in direct line from the emigrant, was born at "Thorpland," his father's plantation on Collington Branch a few miles from Marlboro in Prince George's County. He was the youngest son of John Bowie, Jr., and his second wife, Elizabeth Pottinger. Two dates have been given for his birth, 1744 and 1746. After due consideration it is believed that the latter is the correct one.[1]

In 1753, when John Bowie was seven years old, his father and his older half brother, William Bowie, Jr.,[2] both died.[3] "Thorpland," which was entailed property, passed into possession of his half brother's infant son, whose name was also William. However, John Bowie, Jr., had made ample provision for his younger sons. To his second son, Allen, he left "The Hermitage" and to John, "Ryleys Discovery" and two parts of "Brookfield." His brother, Thomas Bowie, and his son-in-law, James Magruder, Jr., were named guardians. By the terms of this will the property was not to be depleted and after paying for the support and education of the sons, the increase in stock, servants and money was to be held and divided evenly between the heirs as each came of age.

Two years after the death of John Bowie, Jr., his widow mar-

[1] Walter Worthington Bowie, *The Bowies and Their Kindred* (Washington, 1899), Article No. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, Articles 2, 8 and 15.
[3] Will of John Bowie, Jr. Copy of will used in 1761 in possession of L. L. B.

ried Thomas Cramphin,[4] Sr., whose home in lower Frederick County was located not far from Rock Creek Church; at the same time her son, Allen Bowie, Jr., came of age and went to live upon his plantation, "The Hermitage," and John Bowie, then nine years old, was sent to school to the Rev. Charles Lake,[5] rector of St. James Church, Tracy's Landing. In accordance with his father's will the school was selected by his guardians. His grandfather, John Bowie, Sr., may also have had some voice in its choice. It was a good school with a large library and John Bowie acquired there the foundation upon which his high reputation for learning was built. The Rev. Charles Lake must have been a man of upright life and sound scholarship or he would not have had the profound influence upon the independent nature of John Bowie that he undoubtedly exercised. It must have been Mr. Lake who implanted within him the desire to take holy orders, as this calling has not been followed by any other of his family, although they have founded many churches and have been vestrymen almost to the last man.

Circumstantial evidence points to John Bowie as being much of the time at "Brookwood" with his grandfather during the years 1755 through 1758. The old gentleman was alone;[6] his wife was dead and his children scattered. John was of an intellectual turn of mind so he liked tales of by-gone days, and it was through him that the only personal anecdote of the founder of the family has been handed down.[7] No doubt he listened with enthusiasm to the memories of his grandfather's boyhood in Scotland. At any rate John Bowie was the only member of the family who was interested in returning to the land of his ancestors. Probably because of this appreciation he was given the "ancient brass disk" bearing the family coat-of-arms. Early in 1759 John Bowie, Sr., was stricken with paralysis and died later in the same year.[8] Mr. Lake's school was closed in 1763 when his health had failed and he resigned his parish.[9] John Bowie was then eighteen years old and made his home with his unmarried brother, Allen, at "The Hermitage." He had grown to be six feet or more with an upright manly bearing and a frank straight-

[4] Bowie, Article 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, Article 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, Articles 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6.
[7] MS. in possession of L. L. B.
[8] Bowie, Article 1; also Bowie Papers in Maryland Historical Society.
[9] St. James Parish record, Anne Arundel County.

forward manner. There is nothing to indicate how he spent the next year but he may have read under the direction of the Rev. Alexander Williamson,[10] in whose parish Allen Bowie lived. John Bowie now had, at the discretion of his guardian, a comfortable sum of ready money at his disposal and his intention to complete his education in Scotland had become fixed. So in the summer of 1765, at nineteen years of age, he sailed for Scotland. It is to be supposed that he sailed in a ship belonging to his own tobacco factor, probably John Glassford and Company,[11] who had a large connection with Scotch colonial planters, and that he sailed from Georgetown and landed in Glasgow, North Britain.

Bowie did not linger in Glasgow. We learn from his son James that he entered the University of Edinburgh,[12] while from his son Thomas comes the information that he was a student at King's College at Aberdeen.[13] It is believed that he attended both places. At that time the "University buildings at Edinburgh were wretched, looking more like Almshouses than halls of learning," [14] and by contrast the medieval towers of the old "University town between the Don and the Dee" must have appealed to John Bowie's New World imagination; or the course of study offered at King's College may have been advantageous, or he may have met the girl. Nor can we tell what family connections were established, for it was his grandfather who had emigrated and he may well have come into contact with both kin and kin's kin.

In Aberdeen John Bowie found the combination of Scotch culture and English theology that he desired. The English Chapel of St. Paul's was licensed by the Church of England and its clergy ordained by English bishops. It seated a thousand persons and Dr. Johnson has described the congregation as "numerous and splendid." [15] The music was pronounced "admirable."

James Riddoch, who was the senior minister of the English Chapel, and John Bowie married sisters. They were the oldest and youngest daughters, respectively, of James Dallas, chief of

[10] Ethan Allen, *Clergy in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 10; J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 746; Grace Dunlop Ecker, *Portrait of Old Georgetown* (Richmond, 1933), p. 40.
[11] Ecker, p. 8.
[12] MS in possession of L. L. B.
[13] MS in Bowie Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
[14] Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon* (Princeton, 1925), I, 15.
[15] *Journey to the Western Islands* (1775), p. 34.

the Dallas Clan and Laird of Cantray [16] (whose life was lost at the battle of Colloden), and of his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton of Dalziel.[17] Through her they were cousins of James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. The Dallases were a small independent clan that dated from the twelfth century and took its name from the Barony of Dallas which lies on both sides of the River Lossie.[18] When the army of Prince Charles came into Inverness, James Dallas attached himself to the MacIntosh Regiment and was appointed one of its six captains.[19] The "Jacobite Memoir" [20] is quoted as saying "James Dallas was a loyal, kind, brave young man who raised his company at great expense to serve his royal master." On the eventful day at Colloden the MacIntosh Clan flung themselves in a wild charge against the English center. They were received with a terrible fire of musketry and James Dallas was one of the first to fall. Margaret Dallas was left a widow with five small children, William, the young laird, who was but seven years old, and four little girls, Isobel, Anne, Katherine and Margaret; [21] the last must have been an infant in the arms when her father died or else a posthumous child; she is said to have been born at Inverness. James Boswell, the great biographer, in his diary of May, 1761, when on the Northern Circuit with his father, Lord Auchinleck, gives an attractive picture of the oldest Miss Dallas.[22]

> Breakfasted with Miss Dallas. . . . A charming creature indeed: excessively pretty, a most engaging manner. Great good sence, surprising propriety of language and facility of Expression. We were very merry. . . . Upon my soul, a delightful Girl. Never has been at Edin^{r}., nor any where in a large Place. Was in raptures to myself w^{t} her.

As Maryland tradition also describes her sister Margaret as pretty and animated, we may take it that they were a very attractive family of girls. The records show that after her husband's

[16] James Dallas, *The Family of Dallas* (Edinburgh, 1921), p. 189.
[17] *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 48 (1786), pp. 466 and 518.
[18] Dallas, p. 11.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 183.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[22] Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, editors, Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (New York, 1935), p. 419. It is desired to express sincere appreciation for the interest taken by both Professor Pottle and Dr. Bennett in the connection between Mrs. John Bowie and Dr. Johnson's great biographer, James Boswell.

death Mrs. Dallas was sometimes domiciled at "Cantray House" and sometimes at Inverness, but in 1768 they were living "near Aberdeen," and we turn to Boswell for the exact location. At the time of the Tour to the Hebrides, after Dr. Johnson had been given the freedom of the city of Aberdeen, at the Town Hall, the 23rd of August, 1773, he went with Sir Alexander Gordon to Old Aberdeen, while Boswell, Professor Thomas Gordon and Mrs. Riddoch, who had been Miss Dallas, called upon her mother, Mrs. Dallas, and then went on to the Old College.[23] Thus the Dallas residence must have been located adjacent to the mile of country that separated New Aberdeen from Old Aberdeen. Before this Boswell and Dr. Johnson had tea with the former's "old flame and cousin" who had married the Mr. Riddoch. Boswell was uneasy, fearing that she had "changed" but he found her the same "lively, sensible, cheerful woman as ever." They were glad to see each other. Boswell said "My mind was sensibly affected at seeing her. I believe there was sincere joy on both sides. Her youngest sister [Margaret] was gone to Maryland with her husband [John Bowie] also a clergyman. I saw her other two sisters."[24] Dr. Johnson was rather left out in this joyous reunion and exchange of family news. "He laid hold" of the little seven year old niece, Stuart Dallas, "and said he'd take her with him, telling her in a hollow voice that he lived in a cave and had a bed in the rock and she should have a little bed cut opposite to it."

It is believed that Margaret Dallas and John Bowie were married in 1770. Her dress was of white satin embroidered in pink roses and she brought with her to Maryland a bunch of shell flowers that she had made.[25] They were still being made by the Scotch ladies when Dr. Johnson and Boswell toured the Western Isles two years later. Both dress and flowers remain to this day. John Bowie was ordained deacon that same year of 1770.[26] He was ordained priest and licensed for Maryland by the Bishop of

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[25] This satin dress and the shell flowers are in possession of Mrs. John Bowie's great great granddaughter, Mrs. William Farquhar, of Montgomery County, Maryland.

[26] Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.* (Philadelphia, 1879-80), II, 101.

London, July 28th, 1771,[27] and in August sailed with his little family for home; it would seem that his first child, Allen, was born before they left Britain.

With a fair wind the passage across required about a month. They arrived around the middle of September. John Bowie's plantation house was either newly built or was newly fitted up for them. (Until a recent date some of the building material could be found with the name "John Bowie" scratched upon it, notably the iron crane in the kitchen.) This house was beautifully located on the heights overlooking Bladensburg, in Prince George's County, which was then a port of entry and a center of social activity. Georgetown in lower Frederick County was a few miles away, with St. Paul's Church, Prince George's Parish, commonly called Rock Creek Church, between the two towns, the parish being in both counties.

Upon his arrival John Bowie was appointed curate to the rector, Alexander Williamson.[28] A year later Mr. Williamson sailed to the Bahamas for his health, leaving Mr. Bowie in charge of the parish. Upon his return in the spring of 1773, the rector found that his curate had been presented by Governor Eden with the living of St. Martin's Church,[29] Worcester Parish, which comprised the upper half of the County of that name on the Eastern Shore. In mid-summer Mr. Bowie purchased a vessel [30] which he ladened with his family—there were two children by this time—servants and such belongings as he did not want to replace and sailed out of the Capes for the nearest port to the town of Showell. There was no rectory to the parish, for Mr. Bowie transferred his property holdings from the Western to the Eastern Shore and settled upon his own estate.

In the summer of 1776 the storm broke for the Church of England clergy. A convention was assembled to form a constitution for the State. On November 3rd the Declaration of Rights was passed and the Church of England ceased to exist as an establishment.[31] All salaries to the clergy ceased and as a rule they

[27] Ethan Allen, "Historical Sketch of Rev. John Bowie, D. D.," in *Church Record*, June, 1871.
[28] *Ibid.*; Parish Record, Prince George's Parish, Md.
[29] Commission Book 82, p. 318.
[30] Black Book 79, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[31] Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 271-2.

stopped officiating as parish priests. Many felt that it was not consistent with their ordination vows to take the Oath of Allegiance. In case of refusal they either had to leave the State or pay treble taxes.[32] Most of them left and a large number of the churches were closed, although the British government urged Anglican clergymen to remain in the colony as a nucleus around which the lesser loyalists might gather.

Early in 1777 General Howe issued a proclamation promising security, protection and pardon to all inhabitants of the province who would aid the British. In opposition patriotic Marylanders sent petitions to the General Assembly requesting that steps might be taken to repress the Tories, particularly in Somerset and Worcester Counties. In response to these petitions General Smallwood and Major Gist were sent to the Eastern Shore.[33] A number of loyalists had already been arrested, amongst them the Rev. John Bowie who was carried to Annapolis for imprisonment. He was arrested upon the deposition of one Matthias Davis[34] which was as follows:

That being in company with the Rev. John Bowie he asked him what he thought of the oath of allegiance to the state. He said before he would take that oath he would suffer his right arm to be cut off, and wished if he took it his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth and never come loose; but if he [Davis] would get a parcel of hearty tories, for, said he, all we Churchmen are called tories, they would go and kick them all out of the Court House who should want them to take the oath, and then they may huzza for the King and drink his health.

On another occasion, Samuel Powell being present, he asked Mr. Bowie if he had Howe's proclamation. He answered he had. The deponent desired him to read it to him and asked his opinion of it. Mr. Bowie said he thought it a very gracious thing. The deponent then asked him whether it would be proper to sign an instrument of writing to send to Lord Howe to let him know the people were content with it. On which he said to his wife, 'Honey, are you willing I shall go and see your countryman, Lord Howe?' She answered, she 'should be very loth to part with him.'

He said, 'it was indeed a very dangerous thing to undertake, for that they who did undertake it, must not think anything of staying at home, in any short time.'

[32] Charles C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, VII, 82.

[33] Esther M. Dole, *Maryland during the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 209.

[34] Black Book X, 79, Hall of Records. Rev. Ethan Allen's transcript used.

This was dated " 9th of Feb^{y} 1777." The deposition is written in an educated hand but the signature is illiterate.

The next record is dated February 28, 1777: [35] " With regard to the Rev. Mr. Bowie the Counsel of Safety is equally divided in opinion on the point of Bailment of Rev. John Bowie," and is signed " Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer P[resident of the Council].

Toward the middle of March a deposition was offered by Samuel Powell [36] who accompanied Matthias Davis on his visit to Mr. Bowie. This oath made absolute denial of the testimony of Davis, although they were together the entire time while there. This deposition was written by " J. Dennis."

The Council of Safety, under which the Rev. John Bowie had been arrested on February 19th, 1777, had ceased to exist and a new government had been inducted into office.[37] He therefore addressed himself to the Governor of the State, Thomas Johnson:

Honorable Sir

I have for six weeks past been confined in this city (Annapolis) by order of the Council of Safety, and am informed that the powers lately possessed by them are now transferred to your Excellency and the Counsel. I humbly hope, therefore that your Excellency will take the charge against me under your consideration, and if it admits of bail that I may be permitted to give it agreeable to the bill of rights of this State.

I am, sir, your very humble servant

(Sgd.) J. Bowie

March 26, 1777.

The next day, March 27th, he wrote to the Legislature: [38]

To the Honorable House of Delegates
of the State of Maryland.

The memorial of John Bowie humbly sheweth,

Whereas, the Council of Safety were divided in their opinions whether the charge against your memorialist admitted of bail, and therefore referred it again to your Honorable House, by whom the consideration of the matter was postponed, till it be known whether any further accusations would be transmitted by General Smallwood, your memorialist humbly prays the Honorable House would again resume the matter.

John Bowie.

[35] *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 156.
[36] Black Book X, 81, Hall of Records.
[37] Black Book X, 83, Hall of Records. Allen's transcript used.
[38] Black Book X, 84, Hall of Records. Allen's transcript used.

On reading the memorial of the Rev. John Bowie, Officer of the Guard [39] was ordered to immediately attend the Governor and Counsel with the said Bowie in custody.

What the Governor and Counsel had before them to act upon were the two affidavits from Matthias Davis and Samuel Powell, for General Smallwood had reported nothing. So on March 29th, 1777, it was decided that, "On reading Memorial Board considered Rev. John Bowie bailable [40] but from the Evidence against him and the state of the neighborhood in which he lives the Board is of Opinion that it is proper he should not continue to reside in Worcester County or the neighborhood thereof, and at the same time this Board thinks it reasonable he be given a short time to adjust his affairs and remove his family. Ordered Mr. Bowie be discharged from custody giving bond for £2000 to appear before Governour and Counsel at Annapolis 20th of April next." . . . "Bond given and Mr. Bowie discharged."

Upon his return from the Eastern Shore the following decision was handed down April 29th, 1777: "Rev. John Bowie [40] to be confined to Montgomery County and that part of Prince George's County which lies westward of road leading to Addisons Ferry on Potomac River through Upper Marlboro to Queen Anne on Patuxent River." A year after his arrest, February, 1778, Rev. John Bowie's district was enlarged [41] "from Queen Anne Town to Nottingham from thence with road leading to Colonel Sim's and from thence with road to Upper Marlborough."

This district took within its compass the home of the Rev. Thomas John Claggett (later Bishop of Maryland), who was a loyalist and at whose house John Bowie is said to have made his headquarters when not with his brother, Allen, at "The Hermitage." The homes of the Rev. John Eversfield, who also had been a prisoner because of his loyalty to Britain, and the Addisons, another loyalist family, were definitely within its bounds.

Governor Thomas Johnson had looked after Bowie's interests when he was a minor and estate adjustments made a legal opinion necessary. He must have had confidence in his erstwhile client, for he certainly did not bear down hard upon him in his captivity. It has been suggested that as Mr. Bowie could be trusted to keep his bond, this enlargement was granted so that he could minister

[39] *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 192-3. [40] *Ibid.*, p. 373. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

to a number of otherwise closed churches in Prince George's County.[42] However, John Bowie was impatient to return to his family. His wife and babies were across the Bay getting along as best they could without him. On October 7th, 1777, he again addressed Governor Johnson: [43]

> The memorial J. Bowie humbly showeth: That your memorialist, in order to remove any apprehensions arising from influence he may be supposed to have in the parish he formerly resided in, has disposed of his landed property he held therein. Your memorialist therefore, humbly hopes that your Excellency will permit him to return to the Eastern Shore and reside with his family, he removing to some other part of the county which may be thought by your Excellency sufficiently distant from his former residence; he moreover giving his bond with security, and likewise taking an oath not to do himself, or cause to be done by others anything contrary to the laws of the State or which may disturb the public tranquility thereof.

While no answer to this memorial has been found, there is evidence that he returned to his family six months after filing it. This is a list of marriages performed by John Bowie in Worcester County from April 26th to November 1st, 1778.

The next year found the Rev. John Bowie living in Talbot County where he had " set up an excellent school at ' Oak Hill ' near Easton." [44] By this time every vestige of colonial government had disappeared from the State. The General Assembly had in March passed an Act for electing vestries to existing parishes [45] and giving such vestries, in fee simple, all church properties, also the right to appoint the ministers to their parishes, but made no provision for their support; thus voluntary subscriptions would have to replace the colonial tax of tobacco which had formerly supported the Anglican clergy. When Mr. Bowie had lived a year and a half in Whitemarsh Parish, the living became vacant and the vestry passed a resolution to " employ the Rev. Mr. Bowie as minister, if the said Mr. Bowie would accept the incumbency." [46] An agreement was reached on October 27th by which Mr. Bowie

[42] Mr. Caleb Clarke Magruder suggests this explanation. Appreciation is herewith expressed for Mr. Magruder's information regarding Prince George's County.
[43] Rev. Ethan Allen's transcript in *Church Record*, June, 1871. Original not yet indexed by Hall of Records.
[44] Dr. Samuel Harrison's MS "Annals of Talbot County—Religious," Vol. 5, p. 124.
[45] Smith, *Life*, II, 35.
[46] Harrison's "Annals of Talbot Co.—Religious," Vol. 4, pp. 89, 90, 95.

was to receive £336 in hard money. There was also a glebe attached which brought in an additional £12 a year.

In that same year of 1780 there came to the Eastern Shore from Philadelphia, as rector of Immanuel Church, Chestertown, and as principal of the Kent County School, the Rev. William Smith, D. D., who had been Provost of the Philadelphia College until its charter was withdrawn. Dr. Smith was a Scotsman, born in Aberdeenshire, a Kings College man, and it is also possible that he was a kinsman to John Bowie. Inevitably they were drawn together, and Mr. Bowie gave his wholehearted support to Dr. Smith's project of establishing a College at Chestertown. He signed the charter and subscribed £15 to its endowment.[47] The payment of this money is recorded in the ledger of Washington College.[48] However, Mr. Bowie did not give his support when Dr. Smith called a meeting of the clergy on November 9th, 1780, to re-establish the Anglican Church in Maryland. His ordination vows would not permit him to do so. But after the Treaty of Peace was signed with Great Britain and the independence of the United States was finally established, John Bowie resumed his birthright as a citizen of Maryland, and when the diocesan convention met in May, 1783, at Chestertown, he felt free to participate. This convention adjourned to meet in Annapolis in August, when a charter of incorporation was presented to the General Assembly, and Dr. Smith was elected Bishop of Maryland. A testimonial of this election was prepared for the Bishop of London and signed by all the clergy in attendance, with the dates of their ordination, John Bowie giving his as 1770.[49] After this convention, the Rev. John Bowie took an active part in the counsels of the church. He was on the first committee to report such canons as would enable the society to carry out the principles of ecclesiastical government. Thereafter, when the canons of the church were to be considered he would be found almost without exception upon that Committee, and he also constantly served on the Standing Committee.

An interesting episode comes to light in connection with Mr. John Bowie in the writings of Washington for 1784. It seems that early that year John Bowie approached General Washington

[47] Smith, *Life*, II, 80. [48] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 167.
[49] *Journal of the Diocesan Convention*, 1783.

through Dr. James Craik, with the object of writing his (Washington's) biography. Dr. Craik, it may be stated in parentheses, was a Scotsman, a graduate of Edinburgh, a resident of Southern Maryland and Washington's intimate friend and physician. Washington answered this request in a letter to Dr. Craik, dated March 25th, 1784, stating that he did not feel at liberty to open the Revolutionary War Archives until Congress had done so, but he would be glad to see Mr. Bowie at Mt. Vernon and give him the perusal of public papers which antedated his appointment to the command of the American Army. He then went on to say that he did not think " vanity was a trait in my character but I must stipulate against the publication of this memoir till I see more probability of avoiding the darts which *I think* would be pointed at me on an occasion." He added that he would be in Philadelphia in May " where tis probable I may see Mr. Bowie and converse further with him on this subject." [50]

Washington went to Philadelphia to preside at the first meeting of the Society of Cincinnati and saw Mr. Bowie while there. It is evident that Bowie presented his project in such a way that he broke down much of Washington's reluctance. He also interested President Witherspoon, of Princeton, in the project and between them they secured Washington's consent that the memoir of his life should be written.[51]

The President of Princeton was a desirable person to engage in furthering this purpose. He was a Scotsman and a University of Edinburgh man, serious minded, plain spoken, quiet and slow of friendships, to which was added correctness of literary style and originality of ideas. It is also interesting to note that he desired to promote church unity, and used the Episcopal Church Catechism along with the Shorter Catechism in his Sunday classes in the college.

The matter then rested for nearly a year when, probably being prodded by John Bowie, President Witherspoon brought this subject again to General Washington's attention. The answer, dated the 3rd of March, 1785, states, in effect, that when he (Washington) gave his consent he had not been struck with the consequences to which it tended, but after some further talk with Mr.

[50] John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 27, as date of letter.
[51] The Rev. John Bowie seems to have been the only person of that name with the necessary contacts and qualifications to propose himself for this undertaking

Bowie and reflection upon the matter he found this must be a "futile work"—most of the interesting papers were lost and his memory too treacherous to supply defects and he seemed to think that this work could not be made interesting. Nevertheless, he would give his permission provided they were not published in his life. He "would always be glad to see Mr. Bowie, but would be glad if he withdrew from the project of writing the memoir." [52] This, of course, closed the subject and Washington's memoir, written under his supervision, was lost to the world forever, and it can be replaced by no other "life" however complete the record or penetrating its analysis. It is significant that politics were never mentioned in connection with this undertaking. This was consistent with Washington's opinion, written to the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, that with persons of "rectitude and sincerity differences of political opinion should not be condemned either by any person or any power, provided their conduct was not opposed to the general interest of the people." [53]

Mr. Bowie accepted, in 1785, a call to Christ Church, Great Choptank Parish which is located at Cambridge, and removed there with his family and school. The church needed building up, and there are no records before his arrival. He sent out a pastoral letter which was spread in full upon the parish record. In this letter he diagnoses the ills of the parish and suggests the remedies he considered advisable. He proceeded to put into operation his plan for reorganizing the parish and building a new church. The most important event of his charge in Cambridge was the arrival of a young Scotsman as tutor in a family living near the town. He was James Kemp, born at Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, and had been a "prize" student competing with the most distinguished scholars at Marischal College, University of Aberdeen. He was destined for the Presbyterian ministry, and after finishing his course had remained a year at the University continuing his studies in theology by attending the lectures of the celebrated Principal of Marischal College, the Rev. George Campbell.[54] Coming from Aberdeen it was natural that he should have become closely associated with the Rev. John Bowie's family, and he continued his studies, reading under the instruction of Mr. Bowie. To use

[52] Fitzpatrick, Vol. 28, as date of letter. Dr. Bowie had at this time removed from Talbot to Dorchester County.

[53] *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 2. [54] Allen in *Church Record*, June, 1871.

the words of the historian, Ethan Allen, " in him [Mr. Bowie] he found a teacher whom he [Mr. Kemp] learned to call Master. Led by his teaching and influence, on December 20th, 1789, he was admitted to holy orders by Bishop White, and when Mr. Bowie left Cambridge in 1790, Mr. Kemp succeeded him both in his parish and his school." Later he became rector of St. Paul's in Baltimore and after that he succeeded Bishop Claggett and was the second Bishop of Maryland.

The buildings of Washington College were completed in 1789. The commencement exercises were to be particularly distinguished that year and General Washington was to be given the degree of LL. D. Unfortunately he could not come from New York to receive it in person, but his expression of appreciation was read by Dr. Smith. The Rev. John Bowie was given the honorary degree of D. D.[55] This was Dr. William Smith's last appearance as a resident of Maryland. The charter of Philadelphia College had been restored and he was returning to his old position as Provost.

Upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, incumbent of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot County, the vestry, consisting of Matthew Tilghman, Lloyd Tilghman, William Perry, Thomas Harrison, Hugh Sherwood, Jeremiah Banning, Robert Rolle, Thomas Ray and Charles Gardiner, unanimously called Dr. Bowie to fill his place and the call was accepted. Dr. Bowie was already a land owner in Talbot, and during his former residence in the county had established warm friendships. Also St. Michael's had glebe lands and its was an advantage to Dr. Bowie as a slave owner to have these lands at his disposal, (the 1790 census credits him with twenty-five slaves). Mrs. Mary Gordon, widow of the late rector, claimed dower rights in the glebe lands under the Will of Col. Smithson. Dr. Bowie was evidently shocked, for he " voluntarily offered to pass a bond to the vestry at this time or any future day to preclude his widow, should he leave a widow, from claiming dower in any part of the glebe lands under the Will of Col. Thomas Smithson." Some arrangement was effected by which Mrs. Gordon remained in possession of the house at Miles River Bridge, which was still to be used as a chapel and a meeting place for the vestry.[56]

[55] *Ibid.*, and Baltimore *Sun*, June 5, 1932.

[56] St. Michael's Parish Register; Harrison, "Annals—Religious," Vol. 7, pp. 114-126. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 138.

There was talk of building a rectory, but Dr. Bowie rented a house called " Fausley Wood," which was built by Tench Francis, grandfather of Col. Tench Tilghman, Washington's A. D. C., who had been born there and which was then owned by his father, James Tilghman. This property and the five hundred acres of glebe land on Fausley Creek were so interlaced and interlocked that they could be cultivated as one place,[57] and there Dr. Bowie retained his residence for the remainder of his life.

His family now consisted of thirty-two persons, his wife and himself, five children and twenty-five slaves. He was forty-four years old at this time (1790) and, again to quote Ethan Allen, " he was of large stature, accustomed to command and be obeyed and whom nothing could daunt." He always dressed in clerical costume, which consisted of a long black coat of clerical cut reaching to the knee, long black waistcoat which followed the line of the body, black breeches, buttoned at the knee, black stockings, a flat shoe with wide plain silver buckles, probably a clerical wig, and a broad hat of soft black felt. On informal occasions a soft white stock could be worn but for formal functions, Geneva bands were the correct neckwear. The Geneva gown, however, was not worn in Maryland where the clergy clung to the surplice and stole.

Easton was an important center at this time. A court house was being built which when completed was the most imposing building in the State, with the exception of the State House in Annapolis. When the Court was in session, and the week following, a theatrical troupe would come down from Philadelphia and there would be a performance every evening. Volunteer fire companies and militia organizations were also sources of activity. Subscribers to the Easton Assembly gave balls at stated intervals during the year. A French dancing master and a French hairdresser found demand for their services and had establishments there. The newest books were on sale at the printing office, where also more learned tomes could be ordered. The Eastern Shore Jockey Club was an old established institution; the Governor and various parties attended from Annapolis and every house in the neighborhood would be thronged with guests.[58]

[57] St. Michael's Parish Register.
[58] Harrison, "Annals—Social," Vol. 1.

In May, 1790, the Diocesan Convention met in Easton and undoubtedly, like the races, filled the houses of the leading gentry with guests. Although the list of names was the same and there was much sociability, it was of a more sober nature than was in evidence during the races. Dr. Bowie had the pleasure of entertaining his brother, Allan Bowie of "The Hermitage," who was lay delegate from Prince George's Parish, and his cousin, Dr. Robert Pottinger, who was lay delegate from Queen Anne's Parish.

The Convention of 1792, which met in Annapolis, was a most momentous one for the Diocese of Maryland. Since Dr. Smith, whose election as Bishop had been held in abeyance for nine years, had returned to his former position, the Diocese felt free to elect another in his place. The name of the Rev Thomas John Claggett was presented and it is evident that the Rev. John Bowie took a leading part in furthering his election. There are no details of this election extant.

There is a statement in correspondence which says that "Dr. John Bowie could have been a Bishop of the Episcopal Church but for ill health," [60] and this Convention of 1792 is the only occasion when such a thing could have been possible. If this was the case the situation must have been that Dr. Bowie received a number of votes and then withdrew his name and carried his strength over to Dr. Claggett's candidacy. John Bowie's is the first name signed to the estimonial for consecration of the Rev. Dr. Claggett (the signatures are not in alphabetical sequence), and he was elected a delegate to the General Convention. As this was the one and only occasion that he showed any interest in going to this Convention, it is reasonable to suppose he went for the honor of presenting the testimonial for consecration. The clerical delegates were, Dr. Bowie of St. Michael's, Talbot; Mr. Bisset of St. Stephen's, Cecil; Mr. Bend of St. Paul's, Baltimore, and Mr. Coleman of St. John's, Harford. Mr. Bissett was a secretary of the Convention, and Mr. Bend rector of the largest city church in the Diocese, yet when the names, presenting the testimonial for consecration to the House of Bishops, were listed, Dr. Bowie's again heads the list.[61]

[59] *Journal Maryland Diocesan Convention*, 1790, *et al.*
[60] Bowie Papers in Maryland Historical Society.
[61] *Journal of the General Convention*, 1792.

At the next Convention, 1793, with Bishop Claggett presiding, Dr. Bowie was on the standing committee, was appointed visitor for the fourth district, was on the committee for the state of the Church, and on the committee to build a church in Washington. He was also appointed by the Bishop to preach the sermon upon the opening of the next Convention.[62] All this indicates that John Bowie stood in high favor with his Bishop.

Dr. Bowie's private school at "Fausley Wood" was exclusive and probably small. The Honorable John Leeds Kerr was educated there and it is probable that the Honorable Edward Lloyd, who was the same age, was also a pupil, as was the Honorable Samuel Stevens.

After Dr. Bowie left "Oak Hill" a school had been opened in Easton by his successor at Whitemarsh Parish, the Rev. Owen Magrath. This school must have been in receipt of some public funds, for Dr. John Bowie, Dr. Ennalls Martin, William Hayward, Nicholas Hammond and Thomas Bullett, Esquires, were chosen trustees and visitors. It was announced in the paper, in August, 1797, that Dr. Bowie had "conducted an examination of the pupils and expressed himself much pleased with the proficiency of the several classes."[63] When Mr. Magrath left Easton for St. John's College, the Rev. Joseph Jackson, who succeeded him, did not care to teach. The school was closed and education in Talbot came to a standstill. After a time Dr. Bowie advertised that he had decided to open a grammar school in Easton on January 1st, 1799.[64] Two other persons, however, made the same decision at the same time. One was the Rev. Robert Elliott, a Methodist minister from Ireland, and the other was Mr. Edward Markland. All three of these schools sought to form the nucleus of the proposed Easton Academy which was to be opened the next year, 1800. It was to be partly financed by £300 taken from funds given to Washington College. This money was bestowed by the Legislature. Party politics would influence the selection of the principal and the contest became bitter. John Leeds Bozman, the historian, entered the fray with a letter to the *Easton Herald*, dated November, 1799.[65]

We are told [he states] that a certain person [the Rev. Robert Elliott]

[62] *Journal of the Diocesan Convention*, 1793.
[63] Harrison, "Annals—Education," Vol. 1, pp. 7, 8.
[64] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 24. [65] Harrison, "Annals—Religious," Vol. 11, p. 136.

has the consummate impudence to offer himself in competition with the Rev. Mr. Bowie as Principal or Provost of the Academy. It is unnecessary for me to state the highly respectable character which Mr. Bowie has long sustained in this state, not only as a private teacher for twenty years past; but a gentleman of extreme erudition, of the first rate talents and abilities, a complete classical scholar and above all a man of unblemished morals and integrity. It is useless to say more of him, for he has been known to many of you from your earliest youth.

Mr. Bozman then continued at great length a philippic upon Mr. Elliott, the gist of which was that he was not a scholar, he was not a gentleman, that he had only been in Talbot three years and nobody knew him.

Mr. Jacob Gibson[66] also took up the cudgels in this fight, but on the other side; he was a violent anti-federalist and much given to vituperative newspaper controversy. He suggested that Mr. Bowie was a tool, a mere sycophant, writing to please a party in hopes of fingering the £300 taken from Washington College and given to Talbot County. "I leave you to spew out whatever venom is put into your mouth," he adds. "If he [Gibson] had been educated at college at the expense of the poor like you aristocrats, he would make you bawl when you now only grunt." There was more of this article, unprintable according to the standards of today.

These insults were such that Parson Bowie thought they should not go unpunished and he was unwilling to postpone the punishment until after death so he undertook to inflict it at once. . . . Dr. Bowie looked upon Jacob Gibson as a ruffian and a bully to be treated with his fists or his cane. . . . He therefore marched to the Court House when he knew Gibson was engaged in business there. The Parson strode up and down before the door and when he heard the footsteps of the persons leaving the Court Room he drew off his long clerical coat and laid it on the steps saying, 'Lie there Divinity, while I *thrash* rascality,' then when Gibson came out the parson attacked him and a terrible fight ensued.[67] They were nearly the same size [although Gibson was about fifteen years younger].

No word of the results have been handed down, so they were probably separated. It was this story that confirmed Dr. Bowie in his title of the "Fighting Parson."

[66] Tilghman, *History of Talbot Co.*, I, 245. There is much of Jacob Gibson in Tilghman's work and much more in Dr. Harrison's MSS. Mr. Gibson's style of composition can be sampled in Tilghman's *History*, II, 429.

[67] Harrison, "Annals—Biographical," Vol. 1, p. 140.

Those in authority must have found that the question of who should be principal of the Easton Academy was too hot a subject to be handled, as what they decided upon amounted to giving a small subsidy to each of the three schools.[68] All were in a flourishing condition, Dr. Bowie engaged Mr. Charles Emory as his assistant, and he had planned to open his classes to young ladies. They were to have separate class-rooms from the young gentlemen, but were to study under the same masters.

There is another story of Dr. Bowie that deals with this same period. He wrote an article to the *Easton Herald* reflecting severely upon young Edward Lloyd who was just beginning his political career. "Dr. Bowie was a Federalist and one of the most ardent and strenuous of the kind" while Mr. Lloyd "had espoused the side of the Republicans with youthful enthusiasm, although his wealth and social status were such that a more natural alliance would have been with the Federalists." It was currently rumored that Mr. Lloyd, or some of his political friends, intended to inflict personal chastisement upon Dr. Bowie.

> This reached his [Dr. Bowie's] ears and the parson so far from shunning rather sought encounters with the anti-Federalists, who were to hold a public meeting on the Court House Green. Parson Bowie, when the meeting assembled, strode in among those from whom attack was anticipated and ostentatiously exhibited himself. When Mr. Lloyd and his more intimate political associates repaired to a tavern to have dinner and carouse, Parson Bowie in order to give them an opportunity to attack him in a less public place than the Court House Green, repaired to the tavern and there strutted about in full view of his supposed enemies but prudence or decency deterred them from making an assault.[69] . . . The boys of his school, catching wind of his purpose, prepared to join the encounter and defend their teacher whose heavy hand they themselves had felt but for whom they had a sincere respect and affection.

It also may have been that the Parson wished to shame this Prince Hal into choosing a different class of associates.[70] If so, it had no effect, for as late as 1811 he was being censured in the opposition press for his choice of boon companions.

Dr. Bowie's last public appearance was when he preached a memorial sermon for General Washington on February 22, 1800, following Washington's death the December before. The militia

[68] Harrison, "Annals—Educational," Vol. 1, p. 25.
[69] Harrison, "Annals—Biographical," Vol. 1, p. 139.
[70] A sketch of Gov. Edward Lloyd's life suggests the probability that Dr. Bowie both baptized him and educated him.

in uniform, with reversed arms, were to march to the place of divine worship to muffled drums and music playing a dead march. The clergy of all denominations were invited to attend and Dr. Bowie was requested to deliver the sermon.[71]

On December 20th, 1800, he attended his last vestry meeting, but it was not until September 3rd, 1801, that he passed away. His wife, Margaret (Dallas) Bowie, is believed to have gone before, seemingly in the summer of 1797 or 1798. His obituary notice was published in the *Easton Herald*, September 8th, 1801. It began:

Quis desideris Sit pudor, Aut Modus
Tam Chari Capitis. (sic)

After some general observations it continued:

The life that was squared by rules of integrity and honor, the endearments of domestic tenderness, the patient resignation under sickness and pain, and the peaceful death, are remembered only to aggravate our unavailing sorrow.—Having his mind well stored with classical learning, he gave us his indefatigable services in the department of education. As a minister of the Gospel, he was pious and exemplary. His charity is best attested by the tears and lamentations of the poor, the widow and orphans. He did not proclaim his own charity in the streets and the highways; he gave it in an honorable silence and with pure benevolence of heart. He was an affectionate husband, a kind father and a sincere friend.

His son, Thomas, still a student, taught his classes until a teacher could be engaged. To his son, James, was paid the salary due him from the vestry of St. Michael's Parish. At the end of a year his books were sold in Easton. Finis was written to the life of the Rev. John Bowie.[72]

[71] Harrison, "Annals—Social," Vol. 2, p. 61.

[72] The Rev. John Bowie and Margaret Dallas, his wife, left five children, Allen, Elizabeth, James, Margaret and Thomas Hamilton. The two daughters died unmarried. The descendants of his eldest son Allen are Richard Trippe of Baltimore, Md.; Thomas Dickinson Singleton of Vicksburg, Miss.; Nicholas Griffith and his sister Mrs. William Farquhar, of Montgomery County, Md.

The descendants of his second son James are those of a daughter who married Charles Page Craig of Cambridge, Md.; and of a daughter who married Thomas Smyth Hayward of Easton, Md., and of a son, Joseph Haskins Bowie, who settled in Monticello, Ill.

The descendants of his third son, Thomas Hamilton Bowie, number amongst them Bowie Chipman of Washington, D. C., and his son, who is a career man in the foreign service. All of the Rev. John Bowie's descendants with the Bowie surname live in California, of whom may be mentioned the late Henry Pike Bowie, noted connoisseur of Japanese pictures and author of *The Laws of Japanese Painting* (1911); Augustus Jesse Bowie, Jr., graduate of Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a "star" man of his class; Allen St. John Bowie, president of the Western Light and Power Co., and a number of others in and about San Francisco.

NOTES ON THE PRIMITIVE HISTORY OF WESTERN MARYLAND

By William B. Marye

Local historians have written not a few admirable passages on the history of Western Maryland, beginning with the arrival of the permanent white settlers in respective parts of the land, and not neglecting, in a general way, to treat of the Indians, the fauna [1] and the flora of those regions; but the pre-settlement history of this section of our state will never be written, because records appertaining to it are so few, too few to be pieced together even with the help of inference. Pre-settlement history (as distinct from archaeology) concerns, mostly, the Indian traders, but should not ignore hunters and white men fleeing from justice, as well as runaway slaves. These unconventional, disreputable or outlawed individuals projected themselves, or were cast out, from eastern civilized parts into the wilderness. They made use of such Indian roads as they found and, in the extreme western parts of our state, perhaps, of buffalo paths. In the fastnesses of the west they came in contact with Indians, whether living in the last surviving Indian towns, or travelling those Indian highways from one distant goal to another. With them they traded, if traders they were, or, if outlaws, found a temporary refuge often disturbed by bounties and the temptation to turn their mysery into profit.

The notes which follow are intended as supplementary to some

[1] Local historians have seldom concerned themselves with the question as to when, in different respective parts of Western Maryland, the larger (and, to quote Henry David Thoreau, the "nobler") wild animals, such as the wolf, elk, panther or cougar, bear, buffalo and beaver, became extinct. A noteworthy exception to those to whom the subject of these extinct wild beasts is of no interest was Edward Stabler, editor of the recollections of Meshah Browning, the Nimrod of those parts; but these reminiscences apply solely to Garrett County. Wolves were killed within the present limits of that county as late as 1842. Browning believed that panthers became extinct in that region in his day (before 1859); but the late Charles McHenry Howard, whose long association with the county is well known, informed this author that a panther was killed in Garrett about 1881, since which time none has been reported from there. In the summer of 1907 the author of these notes spent a night at the house of an aged man named Junker, who lived on Fifteen Mile Creek, about one mile up-stream from the Potomac, in Allegany County. On that occasion Mr. Junker related how, in his youth, he had been acquainted with professional wolf-hunters, who practiced their arts about the headwaters of this creek, above the Maryland line.

previously published data of this author's (Vols. 30, 32 and 34 of this *Magazine*), which bear upon the subject of the pre-settlement history of Western Maryland:

I. Will's Town on Will's Creek.

In his *History of Cumberland, Maryland* (1878) the late W. H. Lowdermilk has something to say concerning an Indian town called "Caiuctucuc," which, according to him, "was built on the ground lying between these streams" (i. e., the Potomac or Cohongoronta and Will's Creek) "from their confluence to a point some distance up the river Cohongaronta, the greater portion of the town being located upon the west side of the present city of Cumberland." [2]

It is not without some pangs of conscience that one casts a doubt upon one of the opening passages of a history which contains, among other excellent elements, a very well written and moving account of Braddock's expedition and defeat. However, it must be said that Lowdermilk gives no authority in support of his remarks about "Caiuctucuc," nor has any supporting evidence been brought to the attention of this author. "Very interesting, if true" is all that we feel at liberty to say regarding this point.

Lowdermilk is quite correct in saying that Will's Creek at one time went by an Indian name which was something like "Caiuctucuc." He refers to Fry and Jefferson's Map of Virginia, on which the Creek's name appears as "Caicuctuck or Wills Creek." On Benjamin Winslow's "Plan of the upper Part of Patomack River" the name is simply "Cacutuck." [3] This dates from 1736. It was the custom of white men to assign to rivers, bays, and creeks the Indian names of adjacent districts or places. To give names to rivers and other waterways was not, it seems, a general Indian habit.[4] With this in mind we are inclined to surmise that

[2] *History of Cumberland, Maryland*, by Will H. Lowdermilk (Washington, D. C., 1878), p. 18 *et seq.*

[3] A facsimile of this map will be found in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2nd Series, Vol. 18, accompanying an article on the subject by Mr. James W. Foster.

[4] I quote from Robert Sandford's "Relation" of his voyage along the coast of the Carolinas in 1666: "I demanded the name of this River. They told mee Edistowe still, and pointed all to be Edistowe quite home to the side of Jordan, by which I was instructed that the Indians assigne not their names to the Rivers but to the Countryes and people." *Narratives of Early Carolina* (Original Narratives of Early American History), "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina, 1666," by Robert Sandford (New York, 1911), p. 82.

Cacuctuck or Caicuctuck was the Indian name for some place, possibly a town, on or near Will's Creek. That it was the name of the point of land where the creek joined the river, the site of Cumberland, is by no means incredible.

Caicuctuck may have been the Indian name for a village otherwise known as Will's Town, which, there is some reason to believe, formerly stood on the west side of Will's Creek, at the mouth of Jenning's Run, about three miles above the site of Cumberland. The historian Scharf (*Western Maryland*, pp. 1323, 1324) would place the site of Will's Town lower down the creek, but this would seem to be an error. Credence, however, may be given to his story concerning two white boys named Clemmers, who were held prisoner at Will's Town for a matter of nine years in the 1740's or thereabouts. This account seems to be based on good tradition. Lowdermilk has some interesting remarks concerning the Indian called "Will" by white people, for whom Will's Creek is supposed to have been named. Indian Will lived on that stream a few miles up from the Potomac. His immediate descendants intermarried with white people. In Lowdermilk's time trace of these mixed bloods had been lost; but early in the past century they were living in Pennsylvania, near the Allegany County line. I see no grounds for assuming that "Indian Will" might not have been still known by tradition in Lowdermilk's day, or for taking it for granted that he is apocryphal. The existence of a man of this name seems to be implied in the title of the tract of land mentioned by Lowdermilk, "Will's Town," which was surveyed for the Hon. Thomas Bladen, June 1, 1745. Bladen took out no patent for "Will's Town," which was the same land as that which, under the same name, was patented to Dr. David Ross, having been surveyed for him, March 29, 1762, but containing 1125 acres, instead of the original 915.[5] Ross's patent calls for a tract of land situated in Frederick County, "Beginning at a bounded hickory Tree standing in a Fork of Wills Creek on the west side of the Creek about three miles from Fort Cumberland." This agrees more or less with Lowdermilk's statement regarding Bladen's "Will's Town," that it was located along Will's Creek "from the mouth of Jenning's Run." The original description

[5] Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Frederick County. Maryland Historical Society.

of "Wills Town," as surveyed for Bladen, which is not quoted by Lowdermilk, is not without interest. Courses and distances omitted, it reads as follows:

"Will's Town," for Thomas Bladen, Esq., 915 acres, surveyed June 1, 1745: "beginning at a bounded Hickory Tree standing in the First large Fork of Wills Creek, near the Bank of a Run that falls into Wills Creek, *below the Town Field*, about eight per from the Creek," etc.[6]

That which, to this author, seems most interesting in the certificate of survey from which I have just quoted, is the mention of "the Town Field." Indian towns commonly had their communal fields, but not so white settlements, unless it was some fortified outpost. The date of this survey, its name, the mention of the "town field" and Lowdermilk's account of "Indian Will" all tend to support the hypothesis that an Indian town known to white people as "Will's Town" was situated, in early historical times, on Will's Creek, at or near the mouth of Jenning's Run.

II. An Early Mention of the Upper (Shawnee) Old Town.

A record in which the Upper Old Town is mentioned, had escaped this author's attention at the time of the writing of an article on the subject of that Shawnee village.[7] It is an unpatented certificate of survey issued to the Hon. Thomas Bladen and called "Sugar Bottom." The survey was made June 1, 1746, and (courses and distances omitted) is described as follows:

"Sugar Bottom," for Thomas Bladen, Esq: "beginning at a bounded elm Tree standing *at the lower end of a Bottom above a place called Andersons Bottom, about Three miles below the Upper Old Town* on the North Branch of Potowmac," etc.[8]

Sugar Bottom lies in a deep bend of the Potomac River, between Riverside and Pinto. Its lower end is between five and six miles from Cumberland. The "Sugar Bottom" survey was not patented by Bladen, and the land thereabouts was taken up, under the same

[6] Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 383, Prince George's County.

[7] These Notes on the Upper Old Town were published in this *Magazine*, Vol. 34, p. 330 *et seq.*

[8] Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 346, Prince George's County.

name, by Dr. David Ross, May 25, 1763, beginning at Bladen's bounded elm.[9]

" The Three Springs Bottom," surveyed for Governor Thomas Bladen, November 8, 1746, takes its beginning from bounded trees standing on the north bank of Potomac River " *Opposite to a place called Andersons Cabbin* about four miles Below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac." [10]

The beginning-place of the land above mentioned is about seven-eighths of a mile above the mouth of Warrior Run and a little less than a mile from the lower end of Sugar Bottom. Distances from the Indian town, as given in the certificates of survey of these two respective tracts of land, therefore, present no particular discrepancy.

It is most likely that the place called "Anderson's Bottom" was the site of "Anderson's Cabin," being on the West Virginia side of the river, about three quarters of a mile from Riverside. One is inclined to believe that this place was, perhaps, the last stand of the Indian trader, Charles Anderson, fleeing before the advancing settlements. According to the evidence, Charles Anderson was at Oldtown before Cresap.[11] Earlier still he lived and traded on the Monocacy. It appears that he neither took up nor purchased any land in Maryland, so that his movements are difficult to trace. This is a pity, for, wherever we find him, we are pretty sure of having identified a place significant in the pre-settlement history of Western Maryland and of the Indian trade in those parts.[12]

In concluding these notes a word should be added by way of modifying a statement previously made by this author concerning the extent of the Indian fields on the North Branch of Potomac River above the site of Cumberland, which were known as the

[9] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 34, p. 330, note 27.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 332.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[12] A clue to one of his earlier places of residence is to be found in a certificate of survey called " Sprigg's Delight," which was issued to Major Edward Sprigg. The survey was made April 12, 1734, in what was then Prince George's County, and the land is described in part as follows:

" beginning at a bounded Hickory standing near Potomack River side and against the Upper End of a small Island *below a Foarding Place called Charles Anderson's fford*," etc. (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber E. I. No. 5, folio 382).

" Sprigg's Delight " lies in Washington County. Its situation has not been exactly ascertained.

Shawno Indian Fields.[13] Ostensibly, these Indian fields, deserted long before the arrival of the first white settlers in that place, were the common property of the inhabitants of the Upper Old Indian Town, the site of which, as I have shown, was on the north side of the river, near Fort Hill. To judge by Benjamin Winslow's *Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River* (1736) these Indian fields ran from Fort Hill down along the river a distance of about three and a half miles to the upper end of the great bend which encloses a bottom formerly called Sugar Bottom, at or near the site of Pinto, or to within seven miles (in a straight line) of the mouth of Will's Creek. Although Winslow's map, which is so excellent in its details, would seem to have made this point clear, there appears to be good authority for the belief that the Shawno (or Shawnee) Indian fields actually extended considerably farther down the river in the bottom lands. Writing in 1755 concerning the possibilities of navigation in the North Branch of the Potomac, Lewis Evans, the noted cartographer, lets fall the following bit of information:

> The North Branch is scarce passable with Canoes *beyond the Shawane Fields, some three or four Miles above Will's Creek.* . . . From Will's Creek the Ground is very stony for the greater Part of the Way to the Allegany Mountain; but not so much so from the Shawane Fields.[14]

[13] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 34, pp. 330, 331.

[14] *Lewis Evans*, by Lawrence Henry Gipson, *To Which is Added Evans' A Brief Account of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939).

READING AND OTHER RECREATIONS OF MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

(Continued from Volume XXXVIII, page 55, March, 1943)

Several clubs in the American colonies were looked upon as vassels by the members of the Tuesday Club. Thomas Cumming, of New York, visited the Tuesday Club when he was passing through Annapolis and was so impressed by it that he organized the Monday Club on his return home. When he was in Annapolis again, he was called before the tribunal of the Tuesday Club on the charge of betraying state secrets. This charge was dismissed later after the evidence had been heard. President Cole tried by every means at his disposal to make Sir Hugh Maccubin, the president of the Monday Club, acknowledge his fealty but he was always rebuffed.

A social club was organized at Hickory Hill in Virginia by Colonel Fitzhugh who was later made president. It was called the Thursday Club and the members recognized their allegiance to the Tuesday Club.[56]

Several of the honorary members of the Tuesday Club on the Eastern Shore have already been referred to. Robert Morris of Oxford, the factor of Foster Cunliffe and Son whose tragic death has been mentioned in a previous article, visited the Tuesday Club in 1747, and spent a very enjoyable evening. When he returned to Oxford, he sent a case of English ale to his friends which was so much appreciated that he was unanimously elected an honorary member. Two years later, on the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Tuesday Club, the Rev. John Gordon reported that the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Robert Morris and he had formed the Eastern Shore Triumvirate. He said he was commissioned to pay his respects to President Cole, " as you have acquired a great name, far and near, by your wise and just conduct in that chair." [57] Henry Callister may also have been a member of this Eastern Shore club for his name is recorded in the Minute Book of the Tuesday Club as a visitor.

[56] Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 18 February, 1751.
[57] Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 16 May, 1749.

The library of the Reverend Thomas Bacon has been listed in a previous article; there is no record of the books owned by the Rev. John Gordon.[58] The private library of Robert Morris is particularly interesting because of the wide range of its contents.[59] It contained more books on literature than any other book collection mentioned in this survey of literary culture.

Chamber's Dictionary
Rapin's History of England
Lediard's . . . . . of Ditto
Grotin's on war & Peace
Lock's works
Bailey's Dictionary
Lawrence of Agriculture
Puffendorfs Law of Nature
Elton's Sermons
Anderson's Collections
Universal History
British Empire in America
Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses
History of Germany
History of Virginia
Jacob's Law Dictionary
Letters on Patriotism
Fielding's Miscellanies
Vertot's Revolutions in Spain
Method of Studying History
Brand's History of the Reformation
Montaigne's Essays
Rotrautt's Philosophy
Ditto's Physicho
Sherlock on Death
Lyndenham's Works
Hutchinson on the passions
Shaftsbury's Characteristics
History of Spanish America
History of Thomas Kuli Khan
Quincy's Dispensatory
Crouches Book of Rates
London Brewer
Annalls of Europe
Magazines in half Binding
Pamphlets in half Binding
Life Czar Peter the Great
—— of Duke of Marlborough
—— of Prince Eugene
Oldensburgh's calculation of Exchanges
Hill's Natural History
Bacon on Government
Living Library
The Holy Bible
Voltaire's Letters
History of Charles XII of Sweden
Collection of Poems
Addison's Works
Spectator's
Guardian's
Suitonious's lives of the Caesars
Ray's History of the Rebellion
Beveredge's Thoughts
Clarke's Essay on Study
History of the Inquisition
Young Man's best Companion
Pollvitz's Memoirs
Philip's Plays
Treatise on Trade
Independant Whig
Plato's Works
Thompson's Poems
Plays
Tow Through Ireland
Compleat Family Peice
Shaws Parish laws
Christianity as old as the Creation
Dialogues on Education
Antidote against Melancholy

[58] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 188-192.
[59] Talbot County Inventories, 139-141, liber IB 3, folio 351-356.

Nature and Laws of Chance
Art of Cookery
Life of King David
Historical Register for 1724
French and Protestant Companion
Christian Duty 6d Scarovides 6d
Christian Sabboth 6d Hool's Accidence 6d
Moses Unvailed 6d Expositer 6d
Magazines and pamphlets 2c 351 @ 2d.
Brady's Psalms 1/ Ellis's Voyages 8/9
Dulaney's Revelation Examin'd
Snells Coppy Book
Chamberlaine's State of Great Britain 1749
Thomson's Seasons
6 Vol. New Plays
Bysher Art of Poetry
Priar's Works
Clarisa
Pope's Homer
Hatton's Merchants Magazine
Woodward on the Bible
Cheyne on Health
Burkley's minute Philosophy
Swindon on Hell
Cato's Letters
2 ditto
Tom Jones
6 Magazines from Feb. to July Inclusive 1750
Forbes's Reflections on Incredulity
Pamela
Swifts Works
Reflections on Poetry
Gordon's Gran
Bowen's System of Geography
Tindal's continuation of Ditto
Harris's Voyages
Clark's Works
Temple's Works
Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary
Heads of Illustrious Persons
Lex Mercaton's
Anson's Voyage
Hopes New Method of Fencing
Rollin's Belles Letters
Jure Maritimo
Theatre of War
Every Man his own Lawyer
Dissertations on Partys
Lediard's Naval History
Tale of a Tub
David Simple's Letters
History of France
Gale's Sermons
Vertot's Roman Republic
Kennett's Antiquities
Keil's Anatomy
Gay's Fables
West's Defurse of the Chris Revelation
Chamberlaine's State of Britain
Travels into ye Nil and parts of Africa
Cole's Dictionary
Pope's Ethic Epistles
Bacon's Book of Rates for Ireland
Milton's Paradise Lost and Regain'd
Grand Tower [sic] Through Europe
Prince's British Carpinter
Sir Isaac Newton's Philo
Discoveries
Amaryillis
Newton's Chronology
Stafford's Tryal
2 Books 5 Quires each fine Derry in Vellum
Croxal's Novels
Gay's Poems
Tatlers
Freeholder
Voiture's Works
Lock on Government
Glover's Leonidas
Lamotte on Poetry and Painting
Durham's physico Theology
Motervill's Memoirs
Ozell's Homer
Molliere's Plays
Travels of Cyrus
Spectacle de la Nature

History of Joseph Andrews
Buchaneers of America
Prior's Poems
Vernons Compleat Coumpting House
Preceptor
Chubbs Tracts
Tour through great Britain
Hill's Natural History [repeated]
Hoyle's Games
Cooper's Life of Socrates
Pamela
Experienced Midwife
Hudibras
Seaman's Vade Mecum
Young's Love of Fame
Bailey's Exercise 6d 1 Comn Prayer
Notes on Paradise lost pr Addison
Middleton's Life of Cicero
———Sermons
Wilson's Justice
Don Quixot
Young's poems
Congreave's Work
Beggers Opera 2/6 2 Doz plays 21/
Pomfrets Poems
Arbuthnot on Aliments
Treatise on Midwifry
Hale's Staticks
Independent Whig
2 Common Prayers Turkey loar gilt
Englishman the Sequel to the Guardian
6 Monthly reviews Do
The Roman Father A Tragedy
Warberton's Julian
Hutchinson's Moral Phylosophy

A few years after the Tuesday Club disbanded, another social club was organized in Annapolis. A manuscript minute book of the Forensic Club from its organization on October 26, 1759, until March 2, 1767, belonging to William H. Corner of Baltimore was auctioned off with the rest of his library in 1907. No record has been found of the present whereabouts of this valuable manuscript.[60]

The following statement of purposes was drawn up at the organization meeting and was signed by the founders:

Whereas a club at stated times or an assembly of young gentlemen constituted for the improvement and advancement of their knowledge has been universally recommended by the wise and learned, we whose names are hereto subscribed, do for that purpose form ourselves into a body and denominate this Assemble the Forensic Club: William Rind,[61] Robert Alexander, Corns. Garrettson, William Paca, Nathaniel Waters, Charles Wallace.[62]

[60] *Catalogue of . . . William Corner auctioned by Pattison & Gahan, Wednesday, May 15, 1907* (Baltimore, 1907), No. 556. The records of this auction firm have been destroyed and there is no record of the purchaser. Mr. Thomas C. Corner, a son, thought a copy of the manuscript was deposited in the Maryland Historical Society, but this has not been located.

[61] See Joseph T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 112-116.

[62] *Catalogue by . . . William Corner*, No. 556, p. 41.

Most of the active young lawyers in Annapolis where members, including William Paca, Samuel Chase and Thomas Stone, three signers of the Declaration of Independence. The minute book kept by Samuel Chase, afterwards Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, should be an invaluable source of information on the cultural interests of this group of prominent young men.

The Homony Club was another interesting social club in colonial Maryland. It was organized during the administration of Governor Robert Eden and many of its members later left the colony because of their loyalist sympathies. The main source of information about this club is a poem written by Thomas Jennings, the club's Poet Laureate about 1770.[63]

The Homony Club, a Poem, humbly inscribed to the worthy Members of that respectable Society by Thos. Jennings, Poet Laureat.

Ye tuneful Nine assist my feeble Lay,
While I the Merit of our Club display,
From Helicon's imbowring Height repair,
Assist my Labours and reward my Pray'r.
O had I Pindar's Fire, then might I sing
The various Worthies of our jovial Ring,
Like his, my Muse should soar with glorious Flight,
And do each Member and his Virtues Right.
The Fire of Genuis but to few is giv'n,
That Talent only is the Gift of Heav'n,
Then how can I with scarce one Spark, aspire
To praise the Men whom all Mankind admire.

Hail! mighty Lookup, thee I first address,
Great Son of Wisdom, sent these Climes to bless,
Whose vast Perfections ev'ry Heart engage,
And mark thee, bright Example of the Age:
Oft have I seen thee in the social Chair,
As oft rever'd thy magisterial Air,
Thy nervous Eloquence and sterling Sense,

[63] *Dulany Papers*, Box V, No. 20. The Homony Club is mentioned in an article signed by Philomonous in the *Maryland Gazette*, December 12, 1771. In this same article the Independent Club, or the "Drum Stick Club," as the author preferred to call it, was raked over the coals because some of its members, after an evening of drinking, beat a drum on the streets of Annapolis until a late hour. The following week Philalethes, replied to the charge: "Cannot a company of young fellows of liberal education be supposed to assemble for the purpose of improving their imaginations, and indulging themselves in social mirth, without degenerating into the brutal excess of drunkenness?"

Thy Depth of Judgment and Benevolence.
'Tis thine, when rival Orators engage,
To check the Impulse of impetuous Rage,
And like the Roman Moralist, controul
By Reasons Pow'r the Tempest of the Soul
None could like you, such various Toils sustain,
At once preside, and all our Laws explain.

But whilst I weakly strive thy Worth to speak,
A conscious Blush glows on my crimson'd Cheek
For that vain, wild Attempt, to change a Law,
Which Pallas, in thy Form, vouchsaf'd to draw;
But Oh! with Trembling I relate the Hour
When with Presumption rash I brav'd thy Pow'r.
How could I dare to hesitate Dislike!
Thy poignant Periods yet my Fancy strike;
I own thy Justice, and thy Mercy bless
You taught me Prudence, tho' I miss'd Success.

But worthy Eddis now my Verse invites,
(All surely must applaud what *Eddis* writes)
Who still with ready Hand and fertile Head,
Records those Matters which will long be read,
If purest Grammar, brilliant Strokes of Wit,
Or flow'ry Periods can his Fame transmit:
His shining Talents make us all deplore,
When he his Office shall enjoy no more.

How oft do I admire with fond Delight
Great Boucher's Works, and wish like him to write,
Alas! vain Hope, that might as well aspire
To copy Virgil's Song, or Homer's Fire.
Who can like him, with Ease and Sweetness join,
The mild Companion, and the grave Divine;
Sure of all Vices which Mankind have curs'd,
That of Hypocrisy is still the worst,
Then learn ye Sons of superstitious Gloom,
To act like Boucher in the festal Room.

But can I Dennis or his Worth forget,
His modest Manner, and his Attic Wit,
Bless'd Member, who can ev'ry Heart engage,
Friend of my youth, and Solace of my Age;
In Manners gentle, In Behaviour plain,
No Dupe to Flatt'ry nor no Slave to Gain,
Wise without Pride, and without Rashness brave,
A Soul to love, to pity, and to save:
Had I a Genius equal to my will,
Gladly would I exert my utmost Skill,

And strive thy num'rous Virtues to rehearse,
But now, thy Worth would suffer by *my* Verse.

Close by his Side, and watchful of his Friend,
To all he says a willing Ear to lend,
See honest Will; Instructive yet discreet,
Of placid Nature, and of Temper sweet,
" Whose constant Care is never to offend,"
And evry honest Man, he finds his Friend.
May'st thou and Ghiseline, two congenial Souls,
In Peace and Plenty live with flowing Bowls,
Nor know the Curse of fell corroding Care,
But Money have to spend, and some to spare.

Methinks I see with slow and solemn Pace,
The grave Sir Robert take his Destin'd Place,
His courtly Bow and unaffected Air,
The high bred Man of Quality declare,
Kind lavish Nature did to him impart,
Endowments proper for the dancing Art,
And all must own, that 'tis to his Address,
Our Club's admir'd so much for Politesse:
When'eer I see thy ready Hand prepare,
To lead each Stranger to the awful Chair,
I think that Roscius stands before my Sight;
So much thy polish'd Manners give Delight;
O may'st thou long thy pleasing Office fill,
For who like thee can hold it with such Skill,
Or to external Grace those Virtues join,
Which almost prove thee sprung from Race divine;
Thy spotless Honour yet unstain'd by Crimes,
Shall make thy Name rever'd to latest Times.

Now Deards with native Humour claims my Lay
Who justly blends the serious and the gay,
With Knowledge to amuse, with Sense to please,
And Wit to charm with Pleasant'ry and Ease:
When'eer he sings, with Joy the list'ning Throng
Dwell on the melting Musick of his Song,
Nor less his Rhet'rich does our Wonder raise,
Which leaves a doubtful palm in Lookup's Praise.
If Pow'rs to please and Will t' exert those pow'rs,
Can wing with happy Speed the fleeting Hours,
Thy Merit shall consign to endless Fame
And mark in deathless Characters, thy Name;
Sincere I wish thy great Desert Success,
And may thy honest Heart ne'er know Distress.

But see loquacious Ghiseline rise to joke
The Club all laugh, what says he? has he spoke?
No not a Word; then whence this sudden Mirth?
His Face foretels some Bull's approaching Birth,
He smiles and charms us with his jocund Air,
Nor dreads the Frown of Lookup from the Chair,
Ceaseless he speaks to *entertain* his Friends,
And, rare Example! always gains his Ends.

But say advent'rous Muse, can'st thou proclaim
One twentieth part the Tithe of Clapham's Fame,
Who (when the Sword of Honour O'er his Head
Fill'd each surrounding Member's Heart with Dread)
Like great Achilles look'd indignant round,
As if some haughty Rival had been found,
Then slowly stalking reassum'd his Place
With Knight-like Breeding Dignity and Grace.
Hail! great Sir John, may thy deserved Rise
Ne'er draw on thee the Frowns of jealous Eyes,
Merit alone, how rare in modern Days!
Has rais'd thy Station, may it too thy Praise.

The next in Title to the Knight of State
Is Brice the learn'd, and modest Advocate,
Who can like Coke, with nice Descernment draw
Each knotty Point from out the Depths of Law,
Still prone to save whom others have condemn'd,
In him the trembling Culprit finds a Friend.
When Parties strove to crush me into Nought,
And factious Chiefs the harsh Impeachment brought,
When searching for a Cause of Discontent,
They made me utter, what I never meant,
Whilst Words (which ta'en in common Acceptation
Could ne'er have given Cause of Provocation)
Were urg'd by strain'd Construction, to my Shame,
To mean a Toast, which I should blush to name
Thy upright Heart refus'd to wrest the Laws,
And tho' with Heat requir'd, *you shew'd no Cause:*
Let then the Muse her grateful Tribute pay,
Thy Merit asks a more exalted Lay.

See Paca next, with choicest Talents bless'd,
Which can by me but poorly be express'd,
Whose melting Periods charm the list'ning Ears,
And might call down the Planets from their Spheres,
May we thy Sounds harmonious Long enjoy,
For Words so pure as thine can never cloy.

By diff'rent, Methods, diff'rent Men excel,
If Paca *speaks*, yet Wallace *acts* as well,
Intent his Town and Country to befriend,
And fond to useful Works his Hand to lend,
He rears the Column, and projects the Dome,
And makes our Streets like those of ancient Rome,
A grateful People shall preserve thy Fame,
And rank with Jones, and Wren, thy honour'd Name.
But tho' the Trav'ler views with pleas'd Surprise,
Stupendous Fabricks reaching to the Skies,
Admires the Structures, and applauds thy Art,
'Tis mine to praise the Goodness of thy Heart,
Thy many social Virtues to commend,
The useful Citizen, and Publick Friend.

When in the Club a strange attempt was made,
Our Laws and Constitution to invade,
To bring a Member, as no Member there,
To say he no where liv'd, yet ev'ry where;
When party zeal the mad Contagion caught,
And Some approv'd, what they condemn'd in Thought,
Thy independant Spirit scorn'd the Note,
And Bards in future Times thy Worth shall quote.

Say now, ye clay cold Heads, who (worldly wise)
Affect convivial Pleasures to despise,
Whose brainless Apathy Condemns a Jest,
Tho' fram'd by Boucher; or by Deards express'd,
Where, mighty Sons of Dulness, can ye find
More social Converse for the friendly Mind?
Here sparkling Wit and Humour still preside,
With Order and Decorum at their Side,
Each Member charms with Innocence and Mirth,
And views with Scorn the Pride of Wealth and Birth,
Long may we thus enjoy the circling Year,
In blissful Peace, from all Affliction clear.

References to the libraries of several members of the club have been discovered but many members left the colony before they died, so that there is no record of their inventories. Sir Robert Eden was the son of a baronet and began his career in the Royal Artillery during the Seven Years' War. When he met Caroline Calvert, he was a Captain in the Coldstream Guards and undoubtedly his military costume, his youth and his prospects attracted this young lady. He married her in 1765, and his brother-in-law, the proprietor of Maryland, commissioned him as Governor of

the colony. He conducted his administration of the affairs in such a way as to win the admiration and respect of all parties. In his correspondence with English officials he showed a sympathy with the problems of the colonists and in his addresses to the Assembly and the citizens he urged moderation. The Annapolis Committee of Correspondence refused to deliver him to the radical patriots and when he at last decided to leave the Province in 1776, he was given every courtesy at their command although this action was strongly disapproved in the neighboring colonies. He returned to Maryland in 1784 and died in Annapolis. His interest in horse racing and his encouragement of the American Company have already been mentioned. An inventory of his property was made after his departure and although books are not specifically mentioned, he apparently owned a number because a bookcase was found in his bedroom and in the study there were two mahogany bookcases as well as a desk with a glass bookcase.[64]

William Eddis was Governor Eden's secretary from 1769 to 1776, and with the permission of the Council of Safety he remained in the colony until 1777, in order to close the accounts of the Loan Office. His letters to his friends in England are an interesting reflection of the colonial life on the eve of the Revolution.[65]

One of the most interesting loyalists from Maryland was the Rev. Jonathan Boucher who also belonged to the Homony Club. He was born in England in 1738 and received his education under the Rev. John James who remained his close friend throughout his life. Boucher accepted a position as tutor in Virginia and arrived in 1759. He did not enjoy his teaching experience and his letters are filled with his discontent with his surroundings.[66] In 1762 he went to England to take orders. On his return to the colonies he was given the church in Hanover Parish, King George's County, in Virginia, and soon after was made rector of St. Mary's in Caroline County. He opened a school and supplemented his salary as a clergyman with fees from gentlemen in

[64] Archives of Maryland, Red Book No. 1. Hall of Records. Best Biography is Bernard C. Steiner, "Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden," *Johns Hopkins Studies*, XVI, Nos. 7-9.

[65] Published in 1792 under the title *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive.*

[66] Boucher's correspondence was printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI-IX. The letters have to do largely with his years in Virginia.

the neighborhood who wanted their sons to receive a classical education. One of his pupils was John Custis, the stepson of George Washington. Boucher and Washington carried on a long correspondence on the problem of giving a child the proper education. Boucher was somewhat disappointed with the way his students turned out and hoped, or at least so he led Washington to believe, that young Custis would become a scholar:

> . . . I have now been for upwards of seven Years engaged in the Education of Youth. . . . I have had, 'tis true, Youths, whose Fortunes, Inclinations & Capacities all gave Me Room for ye most pleasing Hopes: yet I know not how it is, no sooner do They arrive at that Period of life when They might be expected more successfully to apply to their Studies, than they either marry, or are remov'd from School on some, perhaps even still less justifiable Motive.[67]

Boucher was sadly disappointed in his pupil. Young Custis turned out to be more interested in girls and guns than in his studies. When Boucher was made rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis in 1770, he brought his pupils with him. A few months later Washington wrote that " His [Jacky Custis's] mind is a good deal released from Study, & more than ever turned to Dogs Horses and Guns; indeed upon Dress and equipage . . . " [68] Boucher suggested that Custis be sent on a Grand Tour through England and Europe and he offered to take a leave of absence from his church to accompany him. He suggested that Custis travel through the Northern colonies for six months and then go to England and enter a university for the winter months. After a year's tour of England, Ireland and Scotland he would be ready for a trip through the continent. Washington seriously considered this suggestion and his only reason for rejecting it was that Custis's estate could not support the expense. Boucher was particularly interested in the idea because it would enable him to see the European countries.

> . . . I am unconnected in the World, with no very violent Passion, but that of increasing my slender Stock of Knowledge, which I persuade myself I shall most affectually accomplish by a Tour thro' those Countries where Arts and Sciences have been most successfully cultivated.[69]

[67] S. M. Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1901), III, 316-318.
[68] J. D. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington,* III, 35-36.
[69] *Letters to Washington,* IV, 18-19.

Washington frequently sent parcels of books to Boucher for the use of his stepson. He also sent a few books and pamphlets for Boucher's own use:

> Herewith I send the Pamphlets you desird me to get, together with your Accts from both Printing Offices discharged; both Printers (Rind & Purdie and Gaine) being desired to forward your Gazettes for the future to the care of Mr. Lowndes of Bladensburg.[70]

Boucher took a prominent part in colonial affairs during his residence in Annapolis. He was, of course, an opponent of the bill to lower the tax for the support of the clergy and was very much in favor of an American Episcopacy. Governor Eden appointed him rector of Queen Anne's Parish in Prince George's County and he remained in that church until he was forced to leave the colony because of his loyal sympathies. Many years after he left the colony, he gathered together a number of his sermons and published them in London under the title *View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution.* Certain more radical members of his parish threatened him with bodily injury if he continued to preach his sermons in favor of the Royal authority, but he replied to this threat by placing a pair of loaded pistols on the pulpit. Mention has already been made of Boucher's personal library when he left the colony.[71]

He published several works after his return to England and his most important contribution was the glossary of obsolete words which appeared after his death under the title of *Supplement to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language.* His large library, auctioned off after his death, was described in the catalogue as:

> a fine and curious collection in Divinity, History, (Domestic and Foreign) Voyages and Travels, Poetry, Classics, Philosophy, Natural History, Mechanics, Critical, Biblical, Arts and Sciences, Belles Lettres, Miscellanies, Topography, Dictionaries, and various Branches of Literature, in all Languages, with a large and curious assemblage of Tracts . . .

The first part of the sale lasted twenty-six days, the second part eight days. A priced copy of the sale catalogue shows that the collection containing nine thousand items brought over thirty-

[70] *Writings of Washington,* III, 80-82.

[71] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVI (1941), 194-195.

eight hundred pounds. In a note on the famous book auctions he had attended, the Rev. Thomas Dibdin, well known for his *Bibliomania,* wrote:

> I attended many days during this sale; but such was the warm fire, directed especially toward divinity, kept up during nearly the whole of it, that it required a heavier weight of metal than I was able to bring into the field of battle to ensure any success to the contest.[72]

George Chalmers, another member of the Homony Club, was educated in the Scottish Universities and came to Maryland as a lawyer in 1763. He practiced law in Baltimore until the beginning of the Revolution. He then returned to England and wrote political pamphlets supporting the ministry. In 1780 he published the first volume of *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies.* A few years later as a reward for his loyal services to his party, he was appointed chief clerk of the committee of the privy council for trade and foreign plantations. He soon turned to literature, becoming interested in the poetry and folklore of Scotland. His *Caledonia* was intended as a study of the antiquities of Scotland in six volumes but he died in 1825 before the work was finished. There is no record of his private library while he was in Maryland. However, he assembled a large library during the remainder of his life in England which was sold at auction in 1841 by his family. Dibdin recorded that Chalmers was " the most learned and the most celebrated of all the Antiquarians and Historians of Scotland " and that:

> [he] . . . keeps up a constant fire at book auctions; although he is not personally seen in securing the spoils which he makes. Unparalleled as an antiquary in Caledonian history and poetry, and passionately attached to everything connected with the fate of the lamented Mary, as well as with that of the great poetical contemporaries, Spenser and Shakespeare, Aurelius is indefatigable in the pursuit of such ancient lore as may add value to his stores, however precious, which he possesses.[73]

Some of the valuable items in his library which help to show the scope of his book collecting are: Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1582), *Cronycle of Englonde* (1497) printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *Relation of Maryland* (1635), Hammond's *Leah and Rachel,*

[72] Thomas F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania or Book-Madness* (London, 1876).
[73] Thomas F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania or Book-Madness* (London, 1842), pp. 135-136.

Brereton's *Brief and True Relation* (1602), Peckham's *True Reports* (1583), Eliot's Indian Bible (1663), Shakespeare's *Plays* (the folio editions), first editions of many Shakespeare quartos, many broadsides, newspaper volumes, bound tracts and manuscripts.[74]

The libraries of the moderately prosperous individuals mentioned in this survey afford a fairly representative picture of the cultural interests of the better educated planters and professional men in eighteenth-century Maryland. There were no notable book collections in the colony such as those assembled by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and George Chalmers after their return to England—libraries not limited to contemporary and ephemeral books but made up of volumes of enduring value—but it does not seem unlikely that there might have been if the colonists had enjoyed the same easy access to well-stocked bookstores.

[74] *Catalogue of the . . . Library of the Late George Chalmers, three parts* (London, 1841-1842).

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, page 419, December, 1942)

[An attractive picture of a gentleman of Maryland developing his country place in A. D. 1768 is furnished by the present instalment from the letterbook of Charles Carroll, Barrister, of Annapolis and Baltimore. His interest in mahogany furniture, fine wines and fruit trees may be matched today in any part of the State, not to mention his plea for a gardener and a "housekeeper, if elderly we shall like her the better." The long lists of goods ordered are as astonishing in their variety as they are illuminating in regard to the style in which the Carrolls lived—capers and anchovies, lace head cloths, two pairs of "silk shoes," a dozen men's felt hats, the "best" pamphlets, harness for a four-horse team and postilion saddles decorated with the Carroll crest and gold lace, fishing supplies, orange shrub (a drink) and the makings of a crimson broadcloth waistcoat trimmed with gold lace and brass buttons "to button to the bottom" for the master.

Correspondence already published indicates that the erection of Mount Clare was begun in the late 1750's (probably in 1757) and continued into 1765. Carroll ordered flag stones to pave the portico of his piazza to be delivered in the latter year. This suggests that the building had then been finished. His interest from this point on is in completing the furnishing of the mansion, in obtaining domestic servants and in planting the grounds.]

Gent

I Have wrote to Messrs Scott Pringle Cheap & Co Merchts in the Madeira to send me a Pipe of wine for the Costs in wh I Have Directed them to Draw a Bill on you wch Bill Be Pleased to Pay when it Comes to Hand and Charge to the Acct of

Yr Hble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Decr 7th 1767
To Messrs William & James Anderson
Mercht in London
pr Capt Reed in Bri. to Scot & Co

January 15th 1768

Mr Nathan Haines/

I Hereby Acknowledge that the Bond Passed by you to me of this date is for the Ballance Due to me on the Mortgage of Mr Unkle Unkles and as you have agreed to take the Lands of the said Unkles I hereby Agree on your Payment of the Principal and Interest of the Bond in the manner and at the times you have mentioned to Give you a Release on the said Mortgage for the Whole thereof or for such of the Lands as the said Unckle Unckles shall Convey to you

I am yours

To Mr Nathan Haines
of Frederick County

Chas. Carroll

Gent/

I am in want of a Gardiner that understands a Kitchen Garden well and Grafting, Budding Inoculating and the managemt of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty well. As I suppose there are some to be met with in your City or neighbourhood that may Answer my Description and may be willing to Come under Indentures to serve here four or five years. If you Can meet with such a one who will ship himself under Indentures to serve me as above I will pay the usual Expences of his Passage And Allow him Reasonable Annual Wages, which I suppose Considering I Pay his Passage will not be above five or six pounds Sterling ℔ Annum. There Come in Gardiners in Every Branch from Scotland at Six pounds a year. I shall Leave it to you to Git me one on as Reasonable Terms as you Can

I will Likewise take a man that understands Tanning and Currying Leather on the same terms If he understands the Business Moderately well it will do for me as I shall only want him to Dress my Leather for Negro ware if the above servants are Turned of thirty years of age I shall Like them better as they are more Likely to be Riotous and Troublesome if young. But must take good orderly appearing fellows tho younger

Shall be obliged if you[l] let me hear from you in Relation to

them by your first ship or if you Can Get them in Time be pleased to send them into me by her

Annapolis Maryland
January 28th 1768

I am Gent Your M hble Servant
Cha. Carroll

To Messrs Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph Merchants in Bristol

℔ Captain Price July 24th 1768

Gent/

Be pleased to send me in by the first of your Ships Coming in the following Books, Smollets Continuation of his Compleat History of England four or five vols 8vo Baldwin—The Voters Guide and Candidates Instructor 8vo Griffith—The History of Addresses —Parliamentary Debates by the Honble Archibal Grey I think in Ten vols 8vo by Henry &c—The Latest and best History of the Establishment—Government Laws & Trade of all the British Colonies in America—This I Leave to master Strahans Judgment as I have not seen any Character or Account of any Late Publication A Book Called the British Empire in America Let him Know I have lest he should send it in

Send me in also four flesh Brushes two of them of a Pretty Soft Hair and two of a Rougher Sort.*

I am Gentlemen Your M hble Servant

Annapolis Janry 31st 1768
To Messrs William and James Anderson Merchants in London

Charles Carroll

added to the above

* 2 Dozen Bottles of Genuine Daffy's Elixir
1 Dozen Ditto of Turlintons Balsam
A Quarter of a Hundred of Best fresh Pruins well Packed in a Iarr 8lb Best Sagoe
A small Box of Castile Soap
3 Bottles of Hungary Water
3 Do Lavender
not Prepared
A Pair of Exercising Leads.

℔ Captain Price/via Bristol

Gent/

Be pleased to send me by your first Ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis the Contents of the under mentioned Invoice Insure so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the Costs of them

I am Gentlemen your most Humble Servant

March 24th 1768 C. Carroll

To Messrs Jordan and Maxwell
Merchants in
London

one Diamond Hoop Ring—Mrs Jordan has the Size—but it is desired to be Rather Less and the Sparks as Large as Can be Got for about 15 Guineas.
two other Hoop Rings such as Mrs Jordan shall Chuse, the two not Exceeding two or three Guineas—and a small size less than the Diamond.
one Handsome Mahogany Cabinet with best furniture and Locks of Different Sorts to the Drawers and Doors, and if any Carved ornament to the mouldings they are Desired to be solid and not Glued on such work being very apt to Come to pieces here.
one piece Rich black Sattin made into a Robe or negligee and to the Inclosed body Lining with Genteel Trimming
two pair of Table Bottle stands with Silver Rimes, with Crest or Coat as Inclosed.

℔ John Morton Jordan Esquire

Gent/

The pipe of wine I wrote to you for in mine of the Seventh of December last was for a friend of mine who had no correspondent in your Island. I shall be obliged if you[1] send me for my own use by Captain Cook a pipe of the Prime full kind and the oldest you Can Get I write for the oldest as I suppose the Longer it has been Kept in your Island the more it has Improved and as you may Judge better how such a pipe of wine may turn out than a pipe of a Fresh or a new vintage. I leave it However to your taste, send me also a Quarter Cask of the best and Richest Malmsey wine and a small Box of Citron about fifteen or Twenty Pounds. I shall take it as a favour if you[1] Please to send me by the Captain who has Promised his Care some of the vines of your best and Largest Eating Grape Black and White not the Cuttings but the vine with the Root to it and put up in a Box with a Little Mold that may Preserve them if you Could Procure me a Bearing Lemon

Tree or two in Boxes with Earth that have been Inoculated from Good fruit as the Trees Raised from the seed are Generally worthless.

I shall be obliged if you[l] send them to me by the same opportunity or two or three of any other Trees of Good fruit you may think we Can Manage in this Climate by the help of a Green House. For the Cost of the wines Citron and the Trees be Pleased to Draw on Mess[rs] William and James Anderson Merchants in London and send the Inclosed Letter.

I am Gen[t] your M h[ble] Servant

Annapolis Maryland
April 13[th] 1768 — Cha. Carroll

To Mess[rs] Scott Pringle Cheap and C[o]
Merchants in Madeira

℔ Captain Cook

Gent/

I have of this Date wrote to Mess[rs] Scott Pringle Cheap and Company merchants in Madeira for a Pipe of Wine and Quarter Cask of Madeira and a few other Trifles for the Cost of which I have directed them to Draw a Bill on you which Please to Pay and Charge the same to my Account.

I am Gen[t] your M. humble Servant

Cha[s] Carroll

Annapolis April 13[th] 1768
To Mess[rs] William and James Anderson
Merchants in London — ℔ Capt. M[c]Lachlan

Gentlemen

I hope Ere this Reaches you M[r] Jordan will be safely arrived— And have nothing more to add that to Desire you will send me by the first ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis this fall the Contents of the Invoice Give to M[r] Jordan at Annapolis

Our Compliments attend M[r] and M[rs] Jordan

I am Gentlemen your most Humble Serv[t]

C. Carroll

Maryland May 3d 1768
To Messrs Jordan and Maxwell
Merchants in London

P. S. be pleased to make Insurance on the Goods ℔ Capt McLachlan and by Capt Love to put on board a Ship Going out of Choptank

June ℔ Capt. Purdie

Gentlemen/

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love now in Wye River twenty Tons of Bar Iron be pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of three Hundred Pounds Sterling

I am Gentlemen your M hble Servt

Charles Carroll

Annapolis June 14th 1768
To Messrs William and James Anderson
Merchants in London

℔ Capt Purdie
℔ Capt. Colson out of Patuxent Give to Mr Joshua Johnson

Gent

Inclosed I send you Certificate of the Tons of Bar Iron on Board Captain Love being Plantation made. I Desire that by the first of your Ships Coming in next Spring you will send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Insured so that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Charges, we are in want of a Sober orderly woman of a Good Character that understands Cooking Pickling Preserving and the other Requisites for a House keeper if Elderly we shall Like her the Better. I suppose such are to be met with

that would on moderate wages I suppose about Ten or Twelve Pounds Sterling ℔ Annum Come to a Good Place Here for some years we shall be much obliged if such a one to be Got that you would agree with Her for us on the best Terms and send her to us if above the ordinary Rank of servants my wife will Like her Better, as she will meet with all kind Treatment But she must not be of the flirting kind or one that will give herself airs I wrote by McLachlan to yourself and Mr Hood to Look out for an Arabian Horse for me But on Consideration I shall Like a Barb better as they are more Likely to Retain their Spirit when old are better to Breed Riding Horses from and Besides Come Cheaper so that I would have you Git me one of that Breed and kind if a True one Spirited and Shapely to be Got for the Price Limited in my Letter above mentioned that is not Exceeding one hundred Guineas but hope a True one may be Got Cheaper my master Strahan has Charged me with two vols of Reviews for 1767 and has not sent them another Pamphlet Published in 1766 he has sent me and with a Pin altered the Date to 1768 I have it not here at the mount now or I would Inclose it to him Pray tell him that I Expect the Reviews. Besides the Cur has no Taste in his Choice of Pamphlets Let him Know unless I am better served shall apply to some other Book Seller

Kenedy and Lee the nursery men from whom I had the fruit Trees Last year have Charged me in their note sent with all the seeds sent in to the Governor this is a mistake I am only Chargeable with the Trees Pray Give them Directions to have the Trees I now write for Packed up in the same manner if opportunity offers of sending them at the same time. Let the Stocks and Roots be Good and not wounded and Desire the Captain that Brings them to Contrive me Notice of their being Come or send them to me as soon as he Comes. Most of those that Came to me by Carcaud Died as I had not timely Notice to send for them.

The Tea you sent us in this year from Messrs Rawlinson and Company is very Good Pray make my Compliments to them and Desire we may always have the same My wife joins me in affectionate Compliments to all the Family

I am Dear Sirs your Most obedt Hble Servt

Charles Carroll

Maryland July 21st 1768
To Messrs William and James
Anderson Merchants in London
℔ Captain Robert Love
Give to his Brother the Reverend
Mr Love

Augt 13th 1768 ℔ Captain George Buchanan } and another Letter for Messrs Anderson

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Messrs William and James Anderson Merchants in London Dated July 21st 1768

1 Piece fine Irish Linen @ 5/
1 piece fine Ditto @ 4/
1 piece fine Cambrick
1 piece Good Strong Napkening Diaper of a Midling Size
3 pieces of Dowlass
2 pieces of the Best osnabrigs 7/8 wide
2 ℔ best whited Brown thread
12 ℔ best osnabrigs Do
6 ℔ of Coloured Do
6 pair of mens Large Strong thread stockings
3 pair of Boys Do
4 ℔ best Hyson and 10℔ best Green Tea
14 Loaves best Double and 14 Loaves single refined Sugar
4 ounces Cinnimon
1/4 hundred best Ship Bisquit
1/2 hundred best Spanish Whiting
1 Furkin best Split Peas
6 two Quart Bottles to be filled 2 of them with Capers two with anchovies one with olives and 1 wth best Salad oil
one Dozen small Enamelled thick old China Cawdle or Chocolate Basins with Saucers to them
2 Coffee Pots of best Burnt or Enamelled China to hold about a Pint } These are Desired to be very Good and Well Chosen
2 China Pint Cans
3 Dozen Wine Glasses
2 Wine and Water Glasses
2 Quart Decanters
2 Pint Ditto } to suit a Glass sent
1 Salver or Something Proper to Raise a Middle Dish on Table of Either Glass or China, Rather China
4 Mustard Glasses Like the broken one sent

2 best flint Square Quart Bottles Ground Stopers and narrow mouths
4 best flint Pint Ditto for a Case to be made Here
1 Lawn or Gause Search * of the finest and best Sort with Leather Top and Bottom
6 Hair Sifter Bottoms of the Twilled sort that are fine and Good
2 very Good Box Irons with Hammered Heaters
1 best Tin fish Kettle about 2 feet or 26 Inches Long
6 best Larding Pins Different sizes
A Set of Tagging Irons for Cutting and Marking Paste
one Egg Slice
2 best Sugar boxes and Mallets
2 Jack Spits one of them a Good Size for Joints of Meat the other for small fowls with Handles Ready fixed for the Chain
1 Neat Suit of Blown Lace head Cloths which must Either have Handkerchief or Typet to it to Cost about four or five Pounds
1 worked Muslin Apron of the Clear Sort worked in Sprigs with an Edge Round it.
1 Suit of Fashionable Ribbon
1 Fashionable Gause Cap
1 Breast flower
12 Yards of an Edging Commonly Called Jacobs Ladder for the Tops of Lawn Aprons
1 Genteel set Sprig for wearing in the Hair of Paste and opal mixed
16 yards fine bright Blue Mantua Silk or Lutestring
1 piece of India Persian of blue or Pink Colour which Can be Got the brightest and not too Deep it must be very Good and not Gumed
1 Tunic white Callico Quilted Coat of the wove kind
8 pair of fine Grain Kid Gloves
4 pair of Ditto mitts
1 pair of Fashionable Silk mitts
6 pair fine India Cotton Hose
4 pair worsted Ditto—Those sent Last year to Coarse
2 pair Silk Shoes one pair Plain the other Embroidered
6 pair fine Callimancos with fine worsted bindings
1 pair Good Clogs with the Straps Covered wth strong silk To be made to the Measures Sent by the same Hand that made the silk Shoes Last year—not master Hose but George Stagg I think his name is
1 piece of Striped Duffill for Blanketing
1 piece of Cloth Coloured Kersey with Trimmings
2 pieces of blue Half thick
1 Dozen mens best felt Hats
1 Dozen Ditto ordinary
1 Light mans beaver of same Size of that sent me last year ab^{t} 18/
1 Dozen mens Double worsted Caps
1 Dozen womens Large blue yarn Hose

* Intended for " searce," a fine sieve.

6 pair of Mens silk Stockings for Myself 3 pair of them to be white silk and 3 pair of them to be of the fashionable mixed Colour.
The Reviews for 1768 and those omitted to be sent me Last for 1767
About twenty shillings best Pamphlets
The Act of Parliament to Explain amend and Reduce into one Act the Several Statutes now in being for the Amendment and Preservation of the Public High ways in England it was Passed I believe in 1766 or 1765
4 Gallons Port wine in Quart Bottles
4 Gallons Ditto in Pints D°
6 Gallons best Rhenish wine in Pint Bottles
4 Gallons Battavia Anock in Quart Bottles
6 Gross best Velvet Corks
¼ Chest best Lisbon Lemons by your first Ship and ¼ Chest by your Last
10 m 10^{d} and 5 m 20^{d} nails
4 Good S pipe Stock Locks at 4/ Each
6 Good S pipe Pad locks
50 ℔ of Drop and 50℔ of small mold shot Size about the Bristol Drop
2 Dozen blue and White Check Handkerchiefs
2 pieces Check Linen
1 piece Grey fearnought
1 piece Green Livery Cloth with Red Shalloon for Lining and Red Mohair—
½ Gross brass Buttons Coat and ½ Gross D° Vest—
1 piece of Ticking or Coarse Trustain such as they make Servants Frocks of and 6 Skains Red Mohair
½ Gross flat yellow Metal Coat Buttons well shanked
1 Good seine forty Fathom Long Vest twine and strongest well Corked and Leaded
A Set of Strong and Good Harness for four Horses to Drive Post Chariot Fashion two Postilion Saddles with Crest on the Brass Plates on the off Horses—
9 yards of strong Gold Lace for Housing or Saddle Cloths of the Inclosed Pattern
As much Good Crimson Broad Cloth as will Make me a waistcoat and Good strong narrow Gold Lace with Lining of the same Colour and Proper Trimmings Buttons to Button to the Bottom
½ Dozen Bottles best orange Shrub well Corked and Directions how to make Shrub—if they Can be Got from the Makers—
A Bushel of Rocques Burnt seed one ounce of finest Cantaleup melion seed
one ounce Romand D°
2 voilet Pardigon
2 Moroco
2 S^{t} Catherine
} Plumb Trees

4 orange
4 Turkey
4 Brida
4 Roman
} Apricot Trees

6 Newington
6 Roman
} Nectarines Trees

3 Herefordshire Heart
3 Carnation
} Cherry Trees—

2 Easter S[t] Germain
2 Skinless
2 Pound Perkinsons warden
2 Dry martin
} Pear Trees on Tree Stocks

2 Autumn Burgamot
2 Supreme
2 Largonelle
2 Royale
} for Standards

NB I would have all the above Trees 3 years old from the Graft or Bud if Can be safely moved or as old as they Can be moved—

1½ lbs best Glauber Salts
1 piece Green Cotton
25 ℔ Brimstone
6 ℔ of Salt Petree
4 Boxes of wafers
2 Dozen Sticks best Red Sealing wax
½ Dozen Sticks black D[o]
2 Gross Empty Quart Bottles
2 Round Long Haired wall Brooms
6 Large Mop heads
6 Best Curry Combs without Brushes
1 Dozen wash Balls
1 Ream of ordinary uncut writing Paper
24 Quire best Large Post Paper
2 Dozen Pewter Basins for a Dairy to hold a Gallon Each

(*To be concluded*)

BOOK REVIEWS

Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741. With Letters & Literary Exercises, 1696-1726. Edited by MAUDE H. WOODFIN. Translated and collated by MARION TINLING. Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1942. xlv, 490 pp. $5.00.

As is stated in the introduction, William Byrd of Westover as a diarist at sixty-five and as a man of letters and affairs from twenty-five to fifty, is revealed by the manuscripts published in this book.

From the diary (1739-1741) we learn much of the conditions in Virginia when the influence of the well-to-do colonial planters was at its height. Land, tobacco and slaves were the basis of this power. Although Byrd was much older when he wrote this diary, many of the entries are similar to those in his diary for 1709-1712, published in 1941 and reviewed in this magazine. We find, for example, the same interest in the classics, in his food and in his health. In his treatment of servants and slaves Byrd was more lenient than he had been at the beginning of the century.

The letters and literary exercises from 1696 to 1726 form the larger portion of this book, 288 pages, while the diary covers only 185 pages. These letters furnish many new interesting facts in Byrd's life during this period. While the Virginian wrote these letters to people under such imaginary names as Facetia or Sabina, as was customary at that time, it is now known that these letters were written to real people. Many of them were written to women whom he was courting. After the death of his first wife, Lucy Parke, in 1716, Byrd was anxious to marry a rich London heiress. After courting in vain several women, he succeeded in winning the consent of Maria Taylor. His love letter to Maria, who was a Greek scholar, shows Byrd's style of writing. He wrote:

> When I thought you knew only your mother tongue, I was passionately in love with you: but when indeed I learned that you also spoke Greek, the tongue of the Muses, I went completely crazy about you. In beauty you surpassed Helen, in culture of mind and ready wit Sappho: It is not meet therefore to be astonished I was smitten by such grandeur of body and soul when I admitted the poison of Love through my eyes and my ears. Farewell.

During the first quarter of the century and before his final return to Virginia in 1726, Byrd tried his hand at the various literary expressions characteristic of that time. His writings included some frank descriptions of individuals. Byrd describes himself in one of them under the title of "Inamorato L'Oiseaux." Truly he wrote of himself: "Love broke out upon him before his Beard. . . ."

In a rather coarse sketch, "The Female Creed," we find examples of Byrd's satire and humor when he makes fun of the frailties of women many of whom were his acquaintances. Altogether Byrd must have had

an enjoyable time in London where he was one of a recognized social group. He went to the theater and to coffee houses and during the season visited Bath and Tunbridge Wells, popular spas of that period.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789. By FREEMAN H. HART. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. 223 pp. $3.50.

This book is a refreshing change from the usual Virginia history, which is often of the kind described by Sterne as being made like " . . . apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring out of one vessel into another." The author has examined numerous sets of historical papers, letters, newspapers, church records, the county records of the Valley counties and documents in the Virginia State Library and Land Office, and in various historical societies, including the Maryland Historical Society. In addition, 127 volumes are listed in the bibliography.

From the first sign of trouble with Great Britain, the people of the Valley were zealous Revolutionary patriots. They were " . . . not far behind Boston and Williamsburg in both a grasp of the issues and a determination to find for those issues a successful conclusion." In 1775 they sent 137 barrels of flour to their compatriots in Boston. From the Valley came many Revolutionary soldiers and it claimed five Revolutionary Generals; namely, Daniel Morgan, Andrew Lewis, Horatio Gates, Charles Lee and Peter Muhlenberg. Muhlenberg was the first Colonel of the 8th Virginia, or German, Regiment, which had a fine record in the war, and which the author hardly accords proper recognition.

George Rogers Clark recruited in the Valley, and his able assistant, Col. John Bowman, from the German section, was at his side in what was the greatest military exploit of the Revolutionary War; namely, the winning of the Northwest from the British and the Indians. The author says the Indians termed the Valley fighters the " long knives," but in all of George Rogers Clark's writings they were referred to as the " big knives."

Prior to the war, the British policy provided a bounty on hemp, which was grown extensively in the Valley and hemp certificates were used as currency. During the war, taxes were " commuted " in tobacco, bacon, deer skins, wheat, flour and hemp, but after the war, only tobacco was permitted as a commutable, and as none was then grown in the Valley, difficult times were experienced. As a result, many of the people, including their leaders, fell into debt. Yet, notwithstanding their plight, they were opposed to paper money—" her evil genius haunts us," one leader said, and they considered—" every departure from fundamental principles mere quackeries in politicks which tend to sap the foundations of our Constitution and corrupt the morals of our people." This, too, from the land of William Jennings Bryan's forbears—he of the 16-to-1 fame. In addition, they opposed the repudiation of British debts, which was then thought a popular policy.

Due largely to the Scotch-Irish and German elements, the demand for religious liberty, not merely religious toleration, was strong in the Valley, where the separation of Church and State was insisted upon. When Virginia was called upon to ratify the Constitution of the United States, the votes of the Valley Delegates were cast for it in one entire bloc, and thereby determined the event.

To one who descends from Northern Valley stock, it appears that the Scotch-Irish of the South Valley, fine as they were, are given undue prominence. What an opportunity for the author now to write a complete history of the Valley from the earliest times. It would fill a real need, and would be a work of great interest. The exhaustion of the Tidewater tobacco lands and the prevalence of malaria in the Tidewater were certainly important reasons for the settlement of the Valley. How did the settlers get to the Valley from Tidewater, and what ports did they use for shipping? What is the history of Dumfries, which was one of their ports? We know that it was founded by Glasgow merchants, and that the first building in Warrenton was Cunninghame's Red Store, a Scotch trading outpost from Dumfries. At least one of the Valley residents who owned river bottom lands between the two branches of the Shenandoah had his own wharf at Dumfries. Trace the settlers through the Piedmont as Fairfax Harrison did in his *Landmarks of Old Prince William* and as H. C. Groome did in his *Fauquier Under the Proprietorship*. Tell of Salem (now Marshall) and of the original families there, described by one of our people as " respectable and intelligent farmers from the malarial Tidewater sections "; namely, the families of Hampton, Neville, Diggs, Preston, Barnett and Carter.

Give an authentic history of the great Fairfax grant and of Winchester, where George Washington was a holder of one of the original town lots, and where in 1754, due to the tax on them there were only four " chairs," i. e. chaises, owned by Lord Fairfax, James Wood, John Hite and Marquis Calmes. There is good material around to be had. In Front Royal, Josiah Dickinson has material enough for a history of Warren County, originally a part of Frederick County. He has traced forgotten roads; discovered the original Fairfax " Quarter " and the location of the old race track near Front Royal. Hugh E. Naylor of Front Royal is also well up on local history.

Here is an additional list of natives or residents of the Valley: Samuel Houston, founder of Texas; John Sevier, founder of Tennessee; Ephraim McDowell, who performed a world-famous surgical operation; the great Confederate Generals, Lee and Jackson; Matthew Fontaine Maury, the pathfinder of the seas; James Rumsey, inventor of the steamboat; John M. Brooke, designer of the *Merrimac*; Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the reaper; James E. A. Gibbs, inventor of the sewing machine; Rife, inventor of the hydraulic ram.

The author's work has been well done. But the Valley deserves now a complete history.

WALTER H. BUCK

The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy. By Bell Irvin Wiley. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943. 444 pp. $3.75.

The above work gives a revealing insight into the character, the philosophy and the weaknesses of the " buck private " in the Confederate Army. " Johnny Reb " is not one particular individual whose fortunes are followed from Sumter to Appomattox. He is rather the typical Confederate soldier. The work shows vast research, and the author unfolds in an interesting manner the psychological influences and the social, economic and martial conditions of which the " Johnny Reb," whom he pictures, is the product. Few, if any, of the motivating factors impelling a course of human conduct under given circumstances, whether happy or unfavorable, are left untouched.

" Johnny Reb " becomes a very understandable individual who arouses a deep sympathy in the heart of the reader. The lesser frailties of his nature are essentially those normally to be found in one transplanted from home and peaceful pursuits to the unaccustomed occupation of war. The graver weaknesses may frequently and not illogically be accounted for if one gives a little thought to the inefficiency of the civil government to which he had sworn allegiance, its lack of preparation for war, its continued inability to supply adequate clothing and rations, sufficient medical and surgical treatment, and proper small arms and ordnance, and the resultant hardships on " Johnny Reb." Then too, the ineptitude, in many instances, of his immediate superiors and the incompetence, in some few instances, of his ranking officers induced reactions on his part incompatible with thorough subordination and true patriotism.

In its realistic and factual description of life of the average soldier of the Confederacy, the work perhaps fulfils its purpose. It may be that heroics were intentionally avoided. Yet, after turning its last page and when in bivouac of reflection, the reader cannot but feel that the frailties of " Johnny Reb's " nature have been emphasized to the exclusion of his finer qualities and that he has not met with complete justice.

Edward D. Martin

The Golden Age of Colonial Culture. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. (Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.) New York: New York University Press, 1942. 171 pp. $3.00.

Colonial culture reached its full growth in the eighteenth century, especially in the decades just preceding the American Revolution. Professor Wertenbaker has written an interesting survey of this flowering of colonial culture, using as a frame for his material the six leading towns of the Atlantic seaboard: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. He discusses each " crucible of culture " in all the

phases of its life: types of people, schools, churches, homes, shops, recreation, literary and scientific interests. The sketches of the architecture, the silversmiths, the cabinetmakers, etc., serve as bases for comparison and contrast.

Mr. Wertenbaker points out that colonial culture was shaped by four factors: foreign inheritance, local conditions, continued contacts with Europe, and the melting pot. He remarks that the influence of these factors was different in each part of the country, with the southern colonies looking more to England for guidance and New England most independent. There was no one uniform culture—it varied from section to section and even in the different localities of those sections. A good way to put the idea in a nutshell is to quote a sentence from the book: "To the New Englander the reading of the classics was an act of devotion, to the Virginian a luxury, to the Marylander a glass of wine."

The chapter on Annapolis naturally has particular interest for Marylanders. The culture there was "fundamentally American, Southern, Maryland, based on English traditions, and colored by the intimate contact with London." Annapolitans, unlike their brethren to the north, were avid readers of contemporary fiction and were not interested in religious treatises. Mr. Wertenbaker mentions the Tuesday and Homony clubs, and describes the work of the artists Hesselius and Charles Willson Peale, the architect Buckland, and the cabinetmakers Shaw and Chisholm. The conclusion is that members of the Maryland aristocracy enjoyed their culture more than some people, but did not themselves produce as much.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

The Hoyes of Maryland. By CHARLES E. HOYE. Oakland, Md.: Sincell Printing Company, 1942. 284 pp. $2.75.

This work is written in a pleasing style and is, on the whole, unusually agreeable for a genealogy. It is well illustrated and interspersed with appropriate verse and other quotations. From a genealogical point of view it appears to have been carefully compiled. Numerous references, abstracts and quotations of old records reassure the reader as to the authenticity of the author's statements, and family letters add to the interest of the book. There is a very nice account of a little known part of northern Ireland, whence the Hoye family is believed to have come. The Hoyes were three times pioneers in Maryland: first in Prince George's County; then in Frederick County (now Washington); and finally in Allegany County (now Garrett), where the author now resides. They intermarried with a number of prominent families, such as the Marburys, Wallers and Calmes. There are *excursus* on these and other families. For some of these genealogies Captain Hoye acknowledges his indebtedness to other works, but most of them are his own. The author pays particular attention to the lands on which the family lived, a subject often conspicuous by its absence in American genealogies. He relates some interesting anecdotes

concerning members of the family, and in so doing is not deterred by a desire to keep silent about the little frailties which the subject may have had, so that, in several instances, these stories are quite humorous. The only saddening thing about the book is the evidence it silently presents of the lack of fecundity of the younger living members of this family; depressing, because it seems to be typical of most old "American" families. We use that word in its once accepted sense of descendants of the people of our old stock, mostly of our Eastern pioneers.

W. B. MARYE

Edward Boteler Passano: A Portrait. By ROBERT S. GILL. Baltimore: Privately published [Williams & Wilkins Co.]. 1942. [69 pp.]

This slender but handsome volume provides not only a likeness, as intended, of a prominent business man but also of the successful business of which he has been the chief architect. There is little doubt that the publishing business of Williams and Wilkins, Inc., is the largest such business that Baltimore has sheltered since Fielding Lucas, Jr., flourished a century and more ago. How the printing business called the Waverly Press, was developed by Mr. Passano against heavy odds and how in turn the publishing business was built up to provide fodder for the older Press, are interestingly set forth. But Mr. Gill's chief purpose was to give a portrait of the production engineer who at 70 still heads the twin concerns. This he does successfully and without slighting the subject's personal side. The result is a pleasant biography with overtones of production engineering.

J. W. F.

Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting, 1647-1726. By RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN. Providence: Society of Colonial Wars, 1942. 112 pp.

This monograph aims to provide the facts concerning one phase of economic life in the first century of the Rhode Island colony. It brings together all the records dealing with the issue of money and the counterfeiting which sprang up almost immediately and prospered for varying periods of time. Some of the pages are full of dates and quotations from documents, but the narratives of the trials of the counterfeiters are interesting and readable. Among other items, one notes that the first counterfeit ring was organized and directed by a woman, Freelove Lippencott, while the cleverest group in the business—also the longest in action—was headed by a young housewife, Mary Peck Butterworth.

The illustrations are superb reproductions of colonial bills, most of them printed from the original copper plates. Mr. Bowen's book is a real contribution to colonial history, and it would be fine if similar studies were made for the other colonies.

W. D. H., JR.

Missouri Day by Day. FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor, Vol. I. [Jefferson City, Mo.:] State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942. 446 pp.

A handbook listing historical events in Missouri history and birthdays of noted Missourians in calendar form. This is no mere list but a series of succinct essays on each topic. The volume covers the dates between January 1 and June 30. When will Maryland boast a similar work of reference? Such a book is a useful tool for every high school and every public library.

J. W. F.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Declaration of Independence. The Evolution of the Text as Shown in Facsimiles of Various Drafts by its Author. . . . Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1943. 37 pp., 43 plates. Presented by publisher.

The Handbook of American Genealogy. Vol. IV. Edited by FREDERICK ADAMS VIRKUS. Chicago: Institute of American Genealogy, 1943. 392 pp. Gift of the publisher.

Dawes—Gates Ancestral Lines. A Memorial Volume Containing the American Ancestry of Rufus D. Dawes. Vol. I. Dawes and Allied Families. Compiled by MARY WALTON FERRIS [n. p.] privately printed, 1943. 758 pp. Gift of the author.

NOTES

With the publication in May of the first issue of *Maryland History Notes*, the Society has undertaken a modest bulletin to inform members and friends of its activities and to arouse wider interest in local history topics. The proceedings of the meetings, previously appearing in the issues of this Magazine, have been discontinued. The meetings and all other activities of the Society will henceforth be fully reported in *Maryland History Notes.*

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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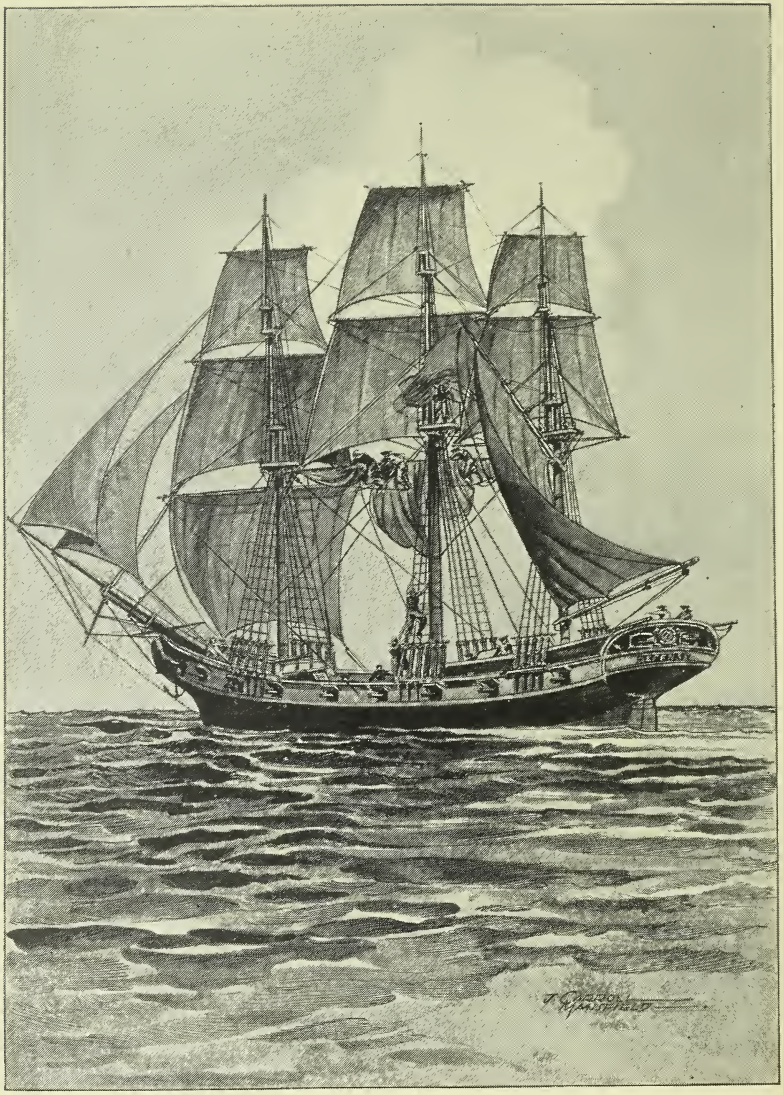

A Reconstruction of the *Defence* Based on Specifications in Mr. Owens' Article.

Drawn for the Magazine by J. Carroll Mansfield

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVIII SEPTEMBER, 1943 No. 3

MARYLAND'S FIRST WARSHIP *

By HAMILTON OWENS

Baltimore, although so far from the sea, has had from the very beginning a special concern with and for the Navy. Perhaps it is because we are so many miles from the coast that we cling all the more closely to our salt-water life line and emphasize more strongly than most cities that the sea is our heritage.

In any event, that is our practice. The list of our naval heroes and of the achievement in battle of our ships and men is a long one. Joshua Barney is our most picturesque naval figure. Stephen Decatur, Jr., is ours only by the accident of birth, but one of the ships he commanded was Baltimore built. That was, of course, the lucky little *Enterprise*. The old *Constellation*, in exile at Newport, is our most famous ship. The 30-hour bombardment of Fort McHenry is the best known of our battles, though, of course, we were land-fighting against a sea-borne force in that particular affair.

It occurred to me that, in all our history, there is no better proof of Baltimore's understanding of the need for a Navy and the true function of a naval force—which is to keep open the sea lanes—than is to be found in the tale of the Maryland ship of war *Defence* whose short but useful career began before the sign-

* Address before the Society on "Navy Night," May 10, 1943. The facts cited with reference to the ship *Defence*, commissioned in 1776, have been largely drawn from the MS volume, "Revolutionary Records: The Ship Defence, Dimensions, Equipment and Company. Compiled from Papers in the Land Office of Maryland by Philip D. Laird, 1896." This book is in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Owens' remarks have appeared in the Appendix to the *Congressional Record* for May 24, 1943, along with the speeches of Under Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal and Rear Admiral W. H. P. Blandy on the same occasion.

ing of the Declaration of Independence. The story is a familiar one to many in this audience but it is such a good yarn and has so many overtones, some of them not without humor, that I am going to risk outlining it once again.

When the Commonwealth of Maryland determined to join in the general resistance to British tyranny, one of its first decisions was to contribute two vessels to the national cause under congressional authorization. They were the sloop *Hornet*, Bermuda built, and the schooner *Wasp,* characteristic product of a Chesapeake yard. Barney, incidentally, got his first naval commission at this time. He was second lieutenant on the *Hornet.*

Both of these vessels went speedily to sea to join the new Continental Fleet under Capt. Esek Hopkins. Baltimore itself was left with no ships of war to patrol the Chesapeake Bay and guard the approaches to the port. This meant, of course, that if the British decided to blockade and cut off the flour and tobacco trade they could do so at no cost to themselves. It also meant that if they decided to attack, they could land forces with impunity and march in the city's back door despite the several defenses set up to guard the harbor.

The town's leading citizens, wiser in matters of naval strategy than one would have thought, saw the situation as soon as the British did and hastily procured from the general assembly at Annapolis the right to commission their own ship of war to sail under the flag of Maryland. By the easy, informal methods of the time it was natural that two of the town's merchants should be appointed agents in the enterprise and given authority to use the State's funds—in bills of course—in payment therefor.

I will not bore you with all the details of the processes by which this first vessel in the Maryland navy was acquired. Because of the danger of the blockade, a number of ships were tied up in the harbor. Among them was a stout vessel, rather larger than the characteristic schooners of the time, which belonged to a merchant named John Smith. She was a full-rigged ship. She was about 85 feet long over-all, and her beam was about 25 feet. She was deep in the stern, like most Chesapeake vessels, and when fully loaded she drew 12½ feet. This means that compared to most of the Baltimore boats she was commodious and able. Mr. Smith, although a patriot, was not averse to setting a good figure on her.

The merchants, acting for the State, of course, agreed to pay him 1,450 pounds sterling as she stood.

The next thing was to find a commander. In those days, as in these, the Eastern Shore produced a special breed of sailors. Among the well-to-do families over there was one with the surname Nicholson, with many sons. The second of these was James Nicholson. He was a bright and engaging youth and his family had sent him to England for an education. While there he decided to make the sea his profession and, as a junior officer in the British navy, he was present at the siege of Havana in 1762. This gave him a reputation throughout the colony as a man experienced in naval affairs. He was something of a politician too, and it was not surprising that he was chosen to command the new warship. He gave her the name *Defence* and set himself immediately to the task of fitting her out in accordance with the prestige of a soon-to-be sovereign State. He was given a stipend of 500 pounds sterling that he might live according to his station while the work was in progress.

When the ship was brought she had a complete set of sails, but Messrs. Lux and Bowley, who were her agents, and who probably chose Mr. Nicholson as commander, thought it well to see that she had a whole new outfit. Mr. Lux was a merchant and a rope-maker, one of the most important in the community. Lux is Latin for light and Light Street is named after him. Mr. Bowley was his father-in-law, also a merchant. He had built one of the town's chief wharfs, which is still called after him.

The order for the canvas for the new sails was given to the firm of S. & R. Purviance, a name which has long been noteworthy in the history of Baltimore. They provided 2,379 yards of sail cloth, for which the State paid something over 285 pounds sterling. New sails implied new rigging. Most of this was made in Mr. Lux's rope-walk on the edge of town. There were more than 11 tons of it and it cost 740 pounds sterling. The anchor and part of the cable were supplied by Mr. H. Young, for £105. Pig iron weighing 42½ tons was needed for ballast. It cost £371. One of the men interested in the smelting of pig iron at that time was Charles Carroll of Carrollton. It is probable that his company supplied at least part of this necessary ballast.

Above everything else, there was the question of guns and muni-

tions. Captain Nicholson worked hard on this. On this little vessel he found space to mount 18 six-pounders on the main deck and 4 more of them on the quarter deck. Britchens and tackle as well as carriages had to be fashioned. The local foundries cast 1,600 round shot and 100 grape, each containing 10 9-ounce balls, the equivalent, perhaps, of modern shrapnel. There were 72 double-headed shot, useful to cut the rigging of an opponent.

One could go on with this sort of compilation. There were powder by the ton, hand grenades, boarding pikes, cutlasses, muskets, handspikes, and all the paraphernalia for the close fighting which was the practice in naval warfare at the time. There were navigation instruments, hourglasses, lead lines, speaking trumpets. There were ships' boats and captain's barges, all handsomely equipped. There were supplies of food—beef, cheese, potatoes, bread, and flour. Bedding for the crew cost £672.

One can imagine the boom along the water-front as the merchants rushed in to bid for the right to supply the ship. One can imagine the carts hauling the supplies to the dockside, the craftsmen swarming over the ship trying to work amidst the confusion, the carpenters, joiners, and riggers applying for jobs and getting them perhaps at higher wages than they had ever received before. Nearly £2,000 was paid out for days' work actually done on the ship. One can imagine the haughty, handsome figure of Captain Nicholson standing on the quarter-deck watching the orderly confusion of the scene below him and imagining himself, probably, as the presiding genius not only in the fitting of the ship, but in the heroic battles she was soon to fight if all went well.

Today we talk a lot about the present war boom and what it has done for and to Baltimore. But I imagine that the excitements, the dislocations, the alarums and excursions along the Baltimore water-front today are not one bit more tremendous, taking scale into consideration, than were the excitements and dislocations which attended the purchase and outfitting of the first Baltimore warship, *Defence.*

You will have noticed that nearly every merchant in the town participated in the business of supplying her and that they got good prices for what they had to sell. You may be tempted to call them profiteers. But before using that word, one ought to remember that this was a time of rapidly rising prices; the mer-

chants, cut off by the non-importation agreements from England, which was the usual source of almost all manufactured goods, had to improvise a defense industry. There was no Reconstruction Finance Corporation to finance them. They had to use their own capital. They foresaw a long war and perhaps declining trade. They didn't yet know how well they would be able to do in the business of privateering. They weren't even sure that the State would reimburse them for their outlays. What they knew was that they needed a navy and needed it quickly. They were determined to supply it regardless of cost. They got good prices on paper for what they supplied the *Defence.* Some of them made fortunes during the war—though they didn't know it until long afterwards. Some of them went bankrupt. But they outfitted the ship. The total cost, including the hull, was 11,272 pounds, 18 shillings and 6 pence, or something more than $10 apiece for every man, woman and child in the community.

The *Defence* did not see much in the way of action. Few naval vessels do. They watch, they patrol. They are kept in a state of eternal preparedness. Sometimes they are called upon to act before they are ready. That is what happened to the *Defence.* She was lying at her pier, her decks still cluttered with her multifarious gear, when word came to Baltimore that a new British war vessel was proceeding up the bay to attack the city. This turned out to be H. M. S. *Otter*, a sloop-of-war of considerable power. The commander of the *Otter*, Captain Squire, had heard of the *Defence* and his job was to put her out of business. He had heard, also, that several schooners, loaded with flour, were about to sail from Baltimore and, since the British fleet needed flour, he thought he would at one and the same time capture the *Defence* and supply the fleet with the needed bread. He announced to a messenger sent aboard that he was willing to pay for the flour but that he was determined to capture the *Defence*, which he called a privateer. This message he gave out overnight, while he was anchored just north of what we now call Gibson Island.

Next morning, Captain Squire sent a tender, which had accompanied him, into the Patapsco River to take a schooner anchored there, loaded with flour and ready to depart for the West Indies. But the news had by this time reached Baltimore. Captain Nicholson, with an alacrity which he did not always dis-

play, got his crew aboard, made sail and proceeded down the river. The men on the tender saw him coming, abandoned their prize, and ran toward the protection of the *Otter.* The captain of the latter weighed anchor and prepared for battle. But at this point he fell into difficulty for, not knowing the channel, he struck on a shoal—either Bodkin Point or Seven Foot Knoll—and heeled over considerably, according to the account of a man who happened to be aboard. If the *Defence* had attacked him immediately, he would probably have been destroyed. But each vessel was a little fearful of the strength of the other. They did not come to an actual meeting and finally, as night fell, Nicholson put the *Defence* about and returned to Baltimore. The *Otter* likewise decided it was better not to come to grips and came about on the rising tide and stood down the bay.

This may seem to us to have been an inconclusive affair but actually, it shows a navy doing precisely what it is supposed to do. During this meeting, in which not a shot was fired, several things happened. The first one, of course, was the recapture of the flour-laden schooner which the British tender had taken. The second was the display of strength by the *Defence.* This display served to convince the commander of the *Otter* that he had better keep his distance from Baltimore. But keeping a distance from Baltimore meant that the near approaches to the city were free, for quite a long time, from hostile forces, and that the flour-laden ships could come and go. When the Marylanders were able to add to the *Defence* and provide not one vessel merely, but a whole fleet, it meant that they could keep the bay almost completely free of British vessels.

During all save one or two of the long years of the Revolution, Baltimore maintained her trade with remarkably little interference. She had learned the value of a naval force. Later on, most of the burden was taken over, in form at least, by the new Federal Government. Baltimore, then as now, was one of the chief shipbuilding centers of the country. And I like to think that, just as the merchants of Revolutionary days knew instinctively the value of a navy, so we, their descendants, know and appreciate the Navy in precisely the same way. They couldn't survive without it and we couldn't either.

CIVIL WAR SONG SHEETS

One of the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society

By Raphael Semmes

Because they exhibit the popular feeling of the times song sheets are a part of the history of any war. They should be considered in any estimate of the temper of a people. They express public sentiment and are an index of the sincerity of a nation at the time they are written. Many of the Civil War song sheets do not have poetic merit. Written at a time when public feeling was aroused some of the verses appear harsh and vindictive. The fact, however, that thousands of people read or sang them warrants their collection and preservation. Not only are they a form of emotional literature, but their historical value must also be admitted. At this time, when we are engaged in another war, it is interesting to look back almost one hundred years to these song sheets of the Civil War.

If the number of song sheets in the Society's collection, which express a wish that Maryland should side with the Confederacy, is any indication of the popular feeling at the time, there is little doubt that the majority of people in Baltimore, at least, favored the South. This was due to the fact that many of the people in the city had had close social and business associations in the past with Southerners. For this reason they resented any force being applied to the seceding states and they objected particularly to the presence of Union troops in the city and state.

The state's song, " Maryland, My Maryland," is an expression of this very sentiment. James Ryder Randall, who was a native of Maryland, was led to write the words of this stirring song when, in Louisiana, he heard of the attack on Massachusetts troops as they passed through Baltimore on April 19, 1861.

The Society has two copies of " Maryland, My Maryland." In one of them " My Normandy," which was then a popular French air, is given as the tune to accompany the words. Henry C. Wagner, of Baltimore, adapted the words to this tune. It was not until later that the verses were sung to " Tannenbaum, O Tannen-

baum," a German song, and it was through the medium of this tune and not the French air that " Maryland, My Maryland " attained its popularity and fame. This is interesting in view of the fact that most of the people in Maryland of German extraction were in favor of Maryland remaining in the Union.

The other copy of " Maryland, My Maryland," in the Society's collection, is one which was read by Randall himself at the reunion of the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States at the Eutaw House, in Baltimore, on February 22nd, 1881.

There are two other Civil War songs of which Randall was the author and of which the Society has copies. One is entitled " The Battle Cry of the South," a spirited song some of the lines of which read:

> To arms! to arms! for the South needs help
> And a craven is he who flees. . . .

The other war song is dedicated to Stonewall Jackson. Although Randall wrote many other songs which were Southern in sympathy, the Society has copies of only these two.[1]

Many of the song sheets which express a wish that Maryland should join with the seceding states were printed in Baltimore. As Maryland was under the control of Union troops, naturally the name of the publisher never appears and the name of the author rarely appears although sometimes he signs the initials of his name. With two exceptions all the song sheets were printed in Baltimore in the year 1862. One of the verses published earlier, or in 1861, was entitled "Are We Free?" In this the author laments that Maryland under the Federalists is no longer free. The other song printed in Baltimore in 1861 is entitled " The Debt of Maryland." The writer, who signs " H," feels that Marylanders have a debt to repay for having harbored so many pro-Unionists.

All of the song sheets printed in Baltimore in 1862 express in different ways the hope that Maryland would side with the Confederacy. In verses entitled " There's Life in the Old Land Yet," the author, who signs his initials " J. B.," hopes that Maryland will be freed from Union oppression:

[1] Poems of which Randall was the author can be found in *Maryland, My Maryland and Other Poems,* by James Ryder Randall (Baltimore, 1908); *The Poems of James Ryder Randall,* edited by Matthew Page Andrews (New York, 1910).

Oh! Maryland mother of Justice, and Right,
Shake off the base fetters, which bind thee so tight!
Come forth in thy power, and settle thy debt,
For we KNOW that there is life in old Maryland yet! [2]

"The Call!" written in October, 1862, appeals to Marylanders and to Baltimoreans in particular to side with the South:

Baltimore! Baltimore!
City of beauty,
Daring as heretofore
Spring to thy duty.
Spurn the invader forth,
Tell the usurping North,
That when two hearts are wroth,
Union must sever!

The Society has two song sheets with exactly the same verses but different titles and written by a man who signs "A Rebel." "God will Repay" is the title of one, and "Right must Prevail" is the caption of the other. The "rebel" regrets that Maryland under Union troops is held "in base subjection."

In some of the song sheets, printed in Baltimore during 1862, the wish is expressed that the South will come to Maryland's aid and drive the Union troops out of the state. Such is the subject of "Down Trodden Maryland," "Da Vis" (Davis), and "The Virginia's Knocking Around." The author of the first of these songs, who signs "N. G. R." his initials, appeals to the South to help Maryland:

Down-trodden, despised see brave Maryland lie,
The noblest of all States. . . . [3]

[2] There are three song sheets each having the same title, that is, "There's Life in the Old Land Yet," but each of which has different verses. The one of which "J. B." is the author is quoted from in the text. Another is attributed to Francis Key Howard, while the third one was written by James Ryder Randall in 1861. There is still another song sheet with a similar title, that is, "There's Life in Old Maryland Yet," which also has a different set of verses. It was written by a man who signed "Cola." This and the song attributed to Howard were both printed in 1862. The Society has copies of all these song sheets with the exception of the one written by Randall.

It would be interesting to know the real name of the man who signed "Cola," as well as the names of the authors who signed only their initials, as, for example, who was "H" and "J. B." and many others who, as we shall see, followed the same practice.

[3] This copy of "Down Trodden Maryland" was published on March 4, 1862. The Society has another copy with the same title, which was signed by "B," and which was to be sung to the tune of "Tom Bowling." This was printed in Baltimore on November 18, 1861. It has only three verses instead of six. "N. G. R." may be the initials of Dr. Nicholas G. Ridgely.

" Quien Sabe," who wrote " Da Vis," hopes that Maryland will be freed from the northern yoke, while the author of " The Virginia's Knocking Around," predicts the capture of Washington by Southern troops:

> With God on their side they'll come to the aid
> Of Old Maryland chained tho' she be and betrayed. . . .

In another Baltimore imprint of 1862 entitled "An Appeal for Maryland," the writer, who signs as " B," makes a fervent appeal to the South to save Maryland from Union domination:

> Who did the ungrateful South now leave,
> Beneath oppression's chain to grieve;
> When she had helped them with her might?
> 'Tis Maryland! [4]

There are in the collection some song sheets, printed outside of Maryland, which express sentiments similar to those just discussed. In " Hark! O'er the Southern Hills," written by "A Southern Lady," she writes:

> O, Maryland, dread not, the hours
> Shall come to make thee high as brave,
> When Dixie humbles Northern powers,
> And claims the soil those powers enslave.[5]

In a similar vein is " The Exiled Soldier's Adieu to Maryland," written at a camp near Manassas on July 5, 1961. In these verses, which were to be sung to the tune of " Bertrand's Adieu to France," the author says that although the Northern " tyrants " have driven him out of his state he promises that—

> My sword shall not ingloriously rust!
> Exiled, I swear to die, or set thee free.

[4] Three other song sheets, printed in Baltimore in 1862, remain to be considered. One of them is entitled " Our Opinion; a Hit at these Times," of which the author was " Le Diable Baiteux." The hits include Baltimoreans who " doubt all, and then wisely scout all." Another song sheet has the title "All Spice; or, Spice for All," and is signed by " Cola." This song has only the first three verses of " Our Opinion; a Hit at these Times." The third item is dedicated " To Sauerwein " and was to be sung to the tune of " My Maryland." Written by a member of the Baltimore Corn Exchange, it contains a criticism of the men in this exchange who were hostile to the South.

[5] These verses were printed in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1862. The same verses were also printed in Baltimore in 1862, but with the verse about Maryland and also one other verse omitted. The title of the Baltimore imprint is: "An Appeal to the South," by "A Daughter of Dixie," who also signed " H."

In Richmond, Virginia, during the same year Mrs. D. K. Whitaker, of South Carolina, wrote verses entitled "Maryland in Chains," in which the Southern woman expresses pity for Maryland:

> Astonished the nations behold thy disgrace,
> While robbed and oppressed by a vile Northern race.

Many song sheets were published which have on them no date or place of publication. Some of these refer to the plight of Maryland under Union control. There is one, for example, entitled "Baltimore" in which the author laments the fact that the city is "by Northern vandals crushed." There is also the "Song of the Baltimore Rebels," written to the tune of "Wait for the Wagon," in which Baltimoreans are urged to join the Confederate army and drive the Union troops out of the town. Similarly, in a song sheet bearing the caption "Maryland in Fetters!" the people of the state are asked to—

> Break! break! the traitor's chain,
> Oh! God of heaven;
> And from our down trod land
> Let them be driven![6]

In the Society's collection there are three song sheets which deal with Maryland's "Old Line." One of them was printed in Baltimore in 1861 and is entitled "A Voice from the Old Maryland Line." It was to be sung to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland." This was written, according to the statement on the song sheet, under the influence of the excitement prevalent in Baltimore when the report was received that the Confederates had crossed the Potomac at Port Tobacco, and cut Gen. Sickles' brigade to pieces. The opening lines are as follows:

[6] In "The Marylander's Good Bye," sung to the tune of "The White Rose," the author in bidding good bye to his state says that he is ready for "freedom's sacred cause to stand, to conquer or to fall." In another song sheet entitled "Maryland. A Fragment," hope is expressed that Maryland will take her stand with the Confederacy.

In a similar vein are the following: "An Impromptu," by Dr. Barnstable, B. C. H. G.; "Yankee Vandals" to the tune of "Gay and Happy" and a song sheet entitled "Sunny South." In "The Flag" written by "A Lady of South Carolina," the author claims that the South no longer owes allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, and that Maryland in the past had done much to add glory to its folds. The writer of "The Tyrant's Cap" wishes that Maryland would be free of Union domination, while the author of "The Southern Wagon," which was written to the tune of "Wait for the Wagon," urges all the Southern states to get aboard the wagon and mentions Maryland and Kentucky as not being able to make up their minds to secede.

The Old Line's foot is on thy shore,
Maryland, dear Maryland!
Returned triumphant as of yore;
Maryland, dear Maryland!

Two other songs refer to the "Old Line." One bears the title of "The Battle Song of the Maryland Line." In this the author urges Marylanders to support the South:

To arms! to arms! Old Maryland!
High sounds the battle call . . .
March forward, one and all!

The second song sheet was probably written at Richmond, Virginia, in 1861. It is entitled "Song of the 'Maryland Line' at Richmond," by "Big Sergeant." It was to be sung to the air of "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." In these verses the author relates how:

We've left our homes in Maryland,
Our friends in Baltimore,
To take up arms for the gallant South,
On Old Virginia's shore. . . .[7]

There are several songs which show the resentment felt by Baltimoreans at the presence of Union troops in the city. One of these was printed in Baltimore on September 11, 1861, and bears the title of "Dix's Manifesto." It was to be sung to the tune of "Dearest Mae." The writer makes fun of General John A. Dix's order that the Confederate colors of red and white could not be displayed in Baltimore:

On Barber's poles, and mint stick,
He did his veto place;
He swore that in his city,
He'd 'Red and White' erase![8]

[7] There are two items, on which no date or place of publication appears, which also refer to Maryland troops. One is entitled "Maryland Zouaves Own," and was dedicated to the First Regiment Maryland Zouaves by their friend, G. W. Alexander, Adj't Regm't. In verses which are set to "Dixie," Marylanders are asked to help "a righteous cause." The other song sheet referring to Maryland troops is entitled "Smallwood Infantry Song." It was written by "P. P." and set to the tune of "Root Hog or Die." In this song a company of soldiers of Westminster, Maryland, warns John Brown and the Black Republicans that they had better not come to Carroll county.

[8] There is a broadside that gives what pretends to be a copy of the order of General Dix in which he directs the suppression of everything red and white in color. There is another song sheet entitled "The Gallant Colonel," in which Colonel Smith, a Federal officer, is criticized for having arrested small boys in

SONG.

MARYLAND

IN FETTERS!

How beautiful in tears!
Dear noble State;
Encumbered round with cares,
Thy grief, how great.
The spoiler's foot upon thee,
His ruthless hand is on thee,
With manacles he's bound thee,
Hard is thy fate!

Mother of wretchedness
I feel for thee!
Bow'd down in deep distress,
I kneel to thee!
I see thy wretched woes,
Thy agonizing throes,
And sympathize with those
Who'd set thee free!

Thy tears are those of blood,
Sweet mother dear!
An accumulated flood
Of wrongs severe!
Thy honor's trampled under,
Thy peace is rent asunder,
God of the rattling thunder,
Oh! lend an ear.

Break! break! the traitor's chain,
Oh! God of heaven;
And from our down trod land
Let them be driven!
Let Lincoln know his place,
Let black men know their face,
And from our injured race
All wrongs be riven!

Typical Song Sheet Issued by Confederate Sympathizers

From the Society's Collection

In the collection there is a song sheet entitled " Mayor Brown," which was to be sung to the air of " Rosseau's Dream." This praises George William Brown, then Mayor of Baltimore, for his handling of the clash that occurred in April 19, 1861, between Massachusetts troops and citizens of Baltimore. The Unionists are warned that Jeff Davis will come and—

> Then you puss-gut bolly-woppers,
> Mischief makers through the town,
> You'll be put in mahogany garments,
> That is, when your done up *brown.*

Two songs, with no date or place of publication given, but which were both probably printed in Baltimore, deal with the arrest and imprisonment by the Federalists of George P. Kane, then Marshal of Police. One of these is entitled " Marshal Kane," and was to be sung to the same tune as the one about Mayor Brown. These verses praise Kane who had been locked up in Fort McHenry. The other has the title of " Oh Jeff! Why don't you Come? " and was set to the air of " Willie we have missed you." The writer expresses a hope that President Jefferson Davis will come to Baltimore as the Federal troops had disbanded the police and arrested Marshal Kane.

" John Merryman " is the title of another song sheet. He, too, had been imprisoned at Fort McHenry by military order. When a writ of habeas corpus was issued by Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, the officer in command of the fort would not comply with it on the ground that he had been ordered by President Lincoln to suspend the writ. Taney then wrote his celebrated opinion (*ex parte John Merryman*) holding that the writ could not be suspended constitutionally by the President, but only by Congress. A tribute to the Justice for his fearless decision is contained in a song dedicated to " Chief Justice Taney." This was to be sung to the air of " The Days of Absence," while " John Merryman " was set to the tune of " Old Dan Tucker." All of those citizens of Maryland who had been placed in jail by the Federalists were the subject of " The Maryland Martyrs "—

> Because they boldly dared to tell
> The people what was right. . . .

Baltimore for treason. As will be later pointed out in the text, other song sheets criticized Generals Butler and Schenck, who also at different times were in command of Union troops in Baltimore.

While not referring to Maryland's part in the Civil War, there are a number of song sheets in the Society's collection, printed in Baltimore, which praise the Southern cause. Some of them were published in 1861, others in 1862. Among those printed in 1861 was " Chivalrous C. S. A." sung to the air of " Vive la Compagnie." Some of the lines read:

Chivalrous, chivalrous people are they
In C. S. A! In C. S. A!
Aye in chivalrous C. S. A!

"Attention," written by " B," is the title of six verses in praise of the Confederacy. " B " was also the author of two other song sheets. One of them entitled " Southern Sentiments " was to be sung to the tune of " Let Haughty Gaul Invasion Threat." The writer says that the South is not alarmed by the thought of an invasion by Northern troops. " Hark! The Summons " was the title of the other song of which " B " was the author. This was an appeal to the South to resist the " Northern scum."

A number of song sheets praising the South were printed in Baltimore in 1862. Among these was one called " Southron to Arms," sung to the tune of " God Save the South." The author urged Southerners " to die for the right." [9]

The Society has a copy of " Hurrah for Dixie," the words of which were written by Albert Pike. The original verses for " Dixie " were composed by Daniel D. Emmett who sang it for

[9] " Cotton is King " is the subject of another Baltimore imprint. It was written by " N. G. R." who emphasizes the importance of cotton as an economic weapon in the Civil War. In a similar vein is a song sheet published in Memphis, Tennessee, in May, 1862, entitled " Burn the Cotton! " By burning all the cotton, the author thinks that the Southern cause will be helped. Another song sheet printed in Baltimore was entitled " Southern War Song." In this Southerners are urged to resist the North.

In the Society's collection there are a number of song sheets favorable to the South which were printed in some Southern state. Two of them were printed in Winchester, Virginia. One of them bears the title of " Battle Song of the Black Horseman." This was the war song of the Confederates from the southwest and it was to be sung to the tune of " Dixie." In this song the Southwesterners promise to drive " old Abe with all his band beyond the bounds of Maryland! " The other song sheet printed in Winchester, Virginia, is entitled "Awake in Dixie," which was also to be sung to " Dixie." The author of these verses, who signs " H. J. S." appeals to the South to fight the North. " The Song of the Exile," written by " B," was printed in Martinsburg, Virginia, in 1861. These were nine verses in praise of the Southern cause. It, too, was to be sung to the tune of " Dixie." In Savannah, Georgia, there were published in the year 1863 verses entitled " Graves for the Invaders. A Fragment." In this the author hopes to bury the Northerners deep in the Southern soil which they have invaded.

the first time in 1859. Pike wrote the words for "Dixie" in 1861 but Emmett's words are the ones which have survived. Unfortunately the Society does not have a copy of Emmett's version.[10]

Many of the song sheets, which have no place or date of publication, refer to the Confederate flag. Three of them were to be sung to the tune of "The Star Spangled Banner." One of them entitled "The Flag of Secession," making use of this anthem, changed the words to read:

> And the Flag of Secession in triumph shall wave,
> O'er the land of the freed and the home of the brave.

Similarly, "The Stars and Bars" and "The Southern Cross" were sung to the tune of "The Star Spangled Banner." [11]

Some Southern songs invoked God's aid to help the South. One of these, "God and Liberty!" has the following stirring appeal:

> In the name of God! Amen!
> Stand for our Southern rights;
> On your side Southern men,
> The God of battles fights!

"God save the South" contains a plea to God to help the South, as does "God Bless the South," sung to the tune of "God Speed the Right." [12]

There are also song sheets which call on the men of the South to resist the North. Such, for example, is the subject of "Country, Home and Liberty," in which the writer begs Southerners to defend their independence:

> Freedom calls! ye brave!
> Rise, and spurn the name of slave.

In a similar vein is the "Southern Song of Liberty," and "The Spirit of 1861," which has the following opening lines:

[10] "Good News from Dixie" also appears to have the words of "Dixie" as written by Albert Pike.

[11] The following song sheets either glorify the Confederate flag or refer in slighting terms to the Stars and Stripes: "Our Rights"; "Southern Red, White and Blue"; "Long May it Wave!"; "Rally Round the Standard Boys"; "Hail! To the South"; and "The Southern War Song," sung to the tune of "I'm Afloat." In "The Confederate States" the author claims that no nation can boast "such a man—such a toast—the Confederate States and its President forever."

[12] "The South and North" and "Our Hope," written by a man who signed "Le Diable Baiteux," also ask God's aid for the South.

Arise, Confederates! hear your country's call!
The hour is come,—the hour to do or die. . . .[13]

The author of "The American Rebels" takes pride in being called a rebel:

Then call us rebels if you will,
We'll glory in the name,
For, bending under unjust laws,
And swearing faith to an unjust cause,
We count a greater shame.

"Recognition of the Southern Confederacy," sung to the tune of "Rosseau's Dream," urges Lincoln to recognize the South. "Recognize us now or die," the author warns the President.[14]

In the "Ode on the Meeting of the Southern Congress," Henry Timrod, the author, rejoices that the Confederacy is at last "a nation among nations." These verses were written on the occasion of the meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery on February 4, 1861. Of interest to Marylanders is a song sheet with the caption "The Dying Confederate's Last Words." The author, who signed "Maryland," writes that he is certain that after sacrificing his life for the South:

The angels sweetly stand and beckon me to come,
To that bright land of bliss that heavenly realm my home.[15]

[13] In "The Southrons are Coming," sung to the air of "The Camels [*sic*] are Coming," the author warns the North that the "Southrons are coming, heigho! heigho!" Two song sheets contain warnings to Northern soldiers. In one of these, entitled "Little Sogers," Northerners, who are given this appellation, are advised that they had better go home and not fight the South. Another warning to Yankee soldiers to keep out of Virginia and the South is contained in "Them Saucy Masked Batteries," which was sung to the tune of "Bobbin Around."

[14] In "Peace" sung to the air of "The American Boy," the author claims that the South only wants to be let alone. In another song sheet entitled "The South," the writer hopes that the South will be the scene of a glorious victory and not of "Freedom's grave." In a similar vein was "Land of the South!" sung to the tune of "Happy Land."

[15] In the Society's collection there are a number of song sheets which stress the part played in the Civil War by some of the Southern states. "The Alabama Cottage" pictures life in an Alabama home while the menfolk are away fighting for the South. In "The Georgia Volunteer," published at Savannah, Georgia, the author says that he answers the call of the South to resist oppression by the North. "Kentuckians to Arms!" a Louisville imprint (1861), urges the Kentuckians to drive the Northerners out of the state. In Charleston, S. C., was printed in 1861 "South Carolina, a Patriotic Ode." This was to be sung to the tune of "My Country 'Tis of Thee." The "Texan Rangers," published in Galveston in 1861, extols the part played by these rangers in fighting the Yankees, while "John Bell of Tennessee," sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," was in praise of this noted man.

In a far different vein is "A Song for Dogs!" written in 1864 when the prospects of a victory for the South seemed less bright. These verses lament the fact that the present generation of Southerners were not worthy sons of their fathers and that they had lost the freedom their ancestors had won.

Song sheets were written to commemorate victories of the Confederate army. Some of them were printed in Baltimore, such as "The Retreat of the Grand Army from Bull Run," which celebrated this battle. This was written by Ernest Clifton to be sung to "Sweet Evelina." [16]

Another Baltimore imprint (1861) was entitled "Our Left. Dedicated to the Maryland hero, Gen. Arnold Elzey, C. S. A." In these verses the general and his Maryland troops are praised for their bravery in the Battle of Manassas. Also relating to this battle is a song sheet bearing the title "My God! What is all this for?" These words, the author states, were the dying words of a Union soldier on the battlefield of Manassas in 1861. The writer gives the answer:

'Twas to tread on Southern honour,
And to rob the South of gold! [17]

Two song sheets commemorate the fall of Fort Sumter. One is entitled "Fort Sumter. A Southern Song," and it was to be sung to the tune of "Dearest May." On the same subject is "Southern Yankee Doodle," to the air of "Yankee Doodle," which pokes fun at Major Anderson's defence of this fort.

Some songs sang the praises of Southern generals. One of these printed in Baltimore in April, 1869, four years after the Civil War, is entitled "The Confederate Marylander's Welcome to

[16] Other songs celebrating the same battle were "Battle at Bulls Run"; "Bull Run," sung to the tune of "Wait for the Wagon"; and "The Retreat of the Sixty Thousand Lincoln Troops."

Two song sheets commemorate the battle of Big Bethel when Colonel J. B. Magruder, C. S. A., won a victory over Gen. Ebenezer W. Peirce. One is entitled "The Battle of Big Bethel" and the other "Great Big Bethel Fight," which was to be sung to the tune of "Dixie." "Munson's Hill," sung to the air of "Call Me Pet names," makes fun of the Yankees for having been fooled by the Southerners in this battle.

[17] "The Marylander at Manassas. A Fact," signed by "N. G. R." and published in Baltimore in 1861, also commemorates the part played by Maryland men in this battle. Also written in celebration of the same battle is a Richmond, Virginia, imprint (1861) entitled "The Battle of Manassas," by Susan Archer Talley. In these verses mention is made of "Elzey to the rescue." Another song sheet about this battle is "The Exodus." Mention is also made in this of Gen. Elzey.

General Robert E. Lee." This was written by Thomas F. Roche who paid a tribute to the general in these touching words:

God bless thee, noble General!
God bless thee, Robert Lee!
Our Southern hearts throb warmly now,—
Once more we dream we're free. . . .

Another song sheet entitled "General Lee," which is undated and no place of publication given, has these lines for the chorus:

Oh! take me back to old Virginny,
My soldier for to see,
To take him by his gallant hand,
The brave old General Lee.

This was to be sung to the tune of "Oh! Carry me back to old Virginny."

Praise for General Stonewall Jackson is found in several song sheets. The author of one of them, who signs "A Rebel," eulogizes Jackson under the title "Jackson is Dead!" This was published in Baltimore in May, 1863. During the fall of 1862 verses were printed at Martinsburg, Virginia, entitled "Stonewall Jackson's Way." They had been found on a soldier of Jackson's brigade. James Ryder Randall was the author of "Stonewall Jackson, A Sentinel." In these verses Randall writes that even after his death the spirit of Jackson keeps guard over sleeping soldiers:

The Soul of Jackson stalks abroad,
And guards the camp at night.[18]

There is also one song sheet entitled "General Jeff Davis," which was sung to the tune of "Kelvin Grove." This speaks of the President of the Confederacy as a "Second Washington," and adds that—

He's burst the chain, the captive's freed,
Southern heartys, oh!

While most of the songs praise Southern generals or celebrate victories of the Confederate army, there are two in the collection which extol exploits of the Confederate navy. One of them applauds Captain George Nicholas Hollins, a native of Maryland,

[18] Praise is given to "General Beauregard" in three song sheets bearing that title. One honors "General Johnston" (Joseph E. Johnston); another "Ben McCullough," while "The Rebel's Retort," sung to the tune of "Cocachelunk," makes fun of Northern generals in comparison with Southern ones.

for sinking the ship *Preble* on the Mississippi River and for driving two other Union vessels ashore. The song sheet is entitled "The Saucy Little Turtle," and was written to the tune of "Coming Through the Rye." The author wishes:

Success to brave old Captain Hollins,
Whose Turtle fought so well,
This brave exploit by Maryland's son,
All history will tell.

Another song sheet, which was printed in Baltimore on October 10th, 1861, praises the cruise of the *Sumter*, which was in command of Raphael Semmes, another son of Maryland. It is entitled "Song of the Privateer," and was written by a man who signs himself "Quien Sabe." The author writes:

Away o'er the boundless sea,
With steady hearts and free,
We man the Sumter, we;
Who for the South and liberty,
Are ready all to die!

It was not all praise for the Confederate navy, however, as there is one song which is critical of it. It bears the title "Ye Stationary Navy. A Sarcasm," and was written by "J. S. H." at Mobile, Alabama. The author pokes fun at the sailor boys in Mobile who, "tho' they should be on the sea, are always on the land."

There are a number of song sheets in the Society's collection which make fun of or otherwise criticize prominent officials of the North including Lincoln. Criticism of the President is found in verses entitled "The Last Race of the Rail-Splitter," which ridicules him for avoiding Baltimore after his election because, it is said, he feared trouble there. In another song, "Lincoln on a Rail," sung to the tune of "Sitting on a Rail," the author advocates riding the President on a rail:

Let's take him by the pantaloon,
And turn him up like an old gray coon,
And chuck him high like a musharoon,
Upon a wooden rail,
Ride Lincoln on a rail. . . .[19]

[19] A song sheet entitled "Old Abe Lincoln" also makes fun of the President for fearing an outburst of popular feeling in Baltimore; "Uncle Abe, or a Hit at the Times," sung to the air of "Villikins and his Dinah," ridicules Lincoln's career; "There's Nobody Hurt!!" contains satire aimed at the President who, it was said,

A Baltimore imprint (March 15, 1862) having the caption " I Carry Along the Despot's Song," was written by a man who signed " Old Secesh." In these verses the author warned Lincoln that he would have to submit to the South. Two song sheets, without date or place of publication, predict that Jeff Davis will drive Lincoln from Washington. " Old Abe's Lament," sung to the tune of " The Campbells are Coming," contains this prophecy, while " Jeff Davis in the White House," set to the air of " Ye Parliaments of Old England," predicts that Davis will force Lincoln to leave the White House.

Criticism of Lincoln's advisers is contained in verses which were published in Baltimore on July 2nd, 1861, entitled " Great Cry but Little Wool; or, the leading Black Republicans." These were written by a man who signed " Barnstable." He criticizes Chase, Cameron, Wells, Seward, Winfield Scott and Blair, whom the author calls a " degenerate son of Maryland." [20]

Thomas Holliday Hicks, the Governor of Maryland at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, who used his influence to prevent Maryland from seceding from the Union, is the subject of criticism in several verses. One of them is entitled " Hicksie." Two song sheets, each having a Latin title, also complain of the Governor's action. In one of them entitled " Audax omnia perpeti Gens Lincolna ruit per vetitum nefas," the author, who signs " B," ridicules McDowell, Schenck, Daniel Tyler, General Siegel and Dix, " the colleague of that traitor Hicks." The other has the title " The Federal Vendue. Abraham Auctionarius Loquitur." This makes fun of the policy of the Federalists; how they bought the state of Maryland from " Hicks & Co," and claims that the deeds of sale were drawn up by Henry Winter Davis.

A song sheet entitled " William Price," set to the tune of " John

repeated these words; in " Disgrace & Shame," sung to the air of " The Campbells Are Coming," the author laments the fact that Northerners let themselves be made fools of by Lincoln. Different than most verses is one entitled "A Prayer to be said by All Good Citizens on the day of Fasting and Prayer ordered by Abraham Lincoln." What appears to be a prayer in favor of the Union is really one in which the South asks protection against the North. This is borne out by the fact that each of the lines in the prayer begin with one of the letters in Jefferson Davis' name.

[20] " Sic Semper," by a Virginian, criticizes Lincoln, Chase, Cameron, Wells, Seward and others. One song sheet is entitled " Congressman Ely," sung to the tune of " Hi Ho Dobbin." This refers to the capture of Ely, who represented New York in Congress, and his being taken prisoner to Richmond where he was so well treated that he is made to say that the North should make peace with the South.

Todd," is an attack by a sympathizer with the South on Price, member of the Maryland Senate, who was the sponsor of the Treason Bill.

Some of the Union generals were also the subject of critical verses. In Baltimore, on October 14, 1861, was published " The Bold Engineer," set to the tune of " Young Lockinvar." The author, who signs " O. H. S. " makes fun of General George B. McClellan:

> For the biggest of blowhards that 'ere did appear,
> Is George B. McClellan, the bold engineer. . . .
> So now we'll take leave with a kick in the rear
> Of Geo. B. McClellan, the bold engineer.[31]

Another Baltimore imprint (June 30, 1861) bears the lengthy Latin title of " Quamdiu tandem abutere patientiae nostra? Ad quem finem sese jactabit Audacia? " In these verses " B," who wrote them, ridicules the Union generals, including Scott, McClellan, Butler, Banks, Fremont and Lyon. Butler is the subject of a sarcastic attack in " The Very latest from Butler " in which the writer accuses the general of being more fond of " Booty and Beauty " than the battlefield. A song sheet entitled " General Butler," sung to the tune of " Yankee Doodle," makes fun of Butler's part in the battle of Big Bethel, while " Picayune Butler," set to the air of "All on Hobbies," speaks of Butler " of state prison fame." General Butler was at one time in command of the Union troops in Baltimore. " Duty Done, and Glory Won," printed in Baltimore and written by someone who signs "A Patriot," contains a criticism of General Robert C. Schenck, who also was at another time in command of Federal troops stationed in Baltimore.

One other subject remains to be considered from the southern point of view and that is their attitude towards slavery. One verse was written from what was supposed to be the slave's point of view. In " Our Opinion," the writer, making use of negro dialect, has it appear that a southern mammy really does not want Lincoln's offer of freedom.[22]

Opposition to freedom for the Negro is expressed in verses entitled " Epitaph," printed in 1862 before the Emancipation

[21] In " The Broker's ' Stamp Act ' Lament," a Southerner writes that stocks are falling and that McClellan is still on the run. This was printed in July, 1862.

[22] The same verses were printed with the title "A Southern Scene."

Proclamation. " Lines on the Proclamation Issued by the Tyrant Lincoln, April First, 1863," written " by a rebel," severely criticize the President for freeing the slaves.

The attempt of the North to arm the Negroes against the South is the subject of satire in " Niggers in Convention. Sumner's Speech." In verses entitled " The Guerillas," which were written by Severn Teackle Wallis while he was imprisoned in the North, a call is issued to the South to resist the Northerners who were turning the slaves against their Southern masters.

In comparison with the number of song sheets which show sympathy for the South, there are few in the Society's collection which favor the Union. Some of the pro-Union ones are Baltimore imprints that give the name of the publisher, such as Louis Bonsal or Thomas G. Doyle. There is also a copy of " The Star Spangled Banner," printed by John D. Toy. Unlike the pro-South song sheets, privately printed in Baltimore, the publisher of song sheets advocating the Union ran no risk of imprisonment, as the city and state were in control of the Federalists.

Two of the Baltimore imprints favorable to the Union were published by Louis Bonsal. One of them with the caption " Cling to the Union " was to be sung to the tune of " Wait for the Wagon." The writer hopes that the people will stand by the Union. The other song sheet published by Bonsal was entitled " Fourth of July Union Song." This was set to the air of " Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled." The author of these verses expects that people with a common heritage will not be divided, but will " maintain, as now, Union, Liberty! "

There were several pro-Union song sheets published in Baltimore by Thomas G. Doyle. One of them bore the title " Help Us Save the Union," and was sung to the tune of " Dixey's Land." This contains an appeal to save the Union. Another song sheet published by Doyle was " The Flag of Our Union! " some of the lines of which read:

> The union of hearts—the union of hands—
> And the Flag of the Union—forever and ever! . . .

Doyle also printed " The Old Union Wagon," to the air of " Wait for the Wagon," which advised Americans to " stick to the wagon, the old Union Wagon." By the same publisher was " The Union ' Dixie ' " which contains a threat that the Union flag will

soon fly in the South. Another Baltimore imprint by Doyle was entitled "Brave and Saucy" to the tune of "Gay and Happy." In this the author warns the South that—

> Fort Sumpter we'll remember too,
> That shall be our Lexington! . . .
> So let the fight come soon as it will be,
> We'll be brave and saucy still. . . .

Printed in Baltimore but with no publisher's name was a song with the title "The Union," which could be sung to the air of "Root Hog or Die." In this the writer says:

> The Secessionists in Baltimore, not many weeks ago,
> They tried to rule the City, as you very well do know,
> They could not come the game, Sir, I'll tell the reason why,
> The Union boys made 'em sing-Root Hog or Die.[23]

The Society has a number of song sheets with no date or place of publication, but which refer either to Baltimore or to Maryland and to their loyalty to the Union. One of these is entitled "My Maryland," in which the writer applauds Maryland's decision to remain in the Union and adds:

> The Stars and Stripes I hope will wave,
> In Maryland, my Maryland,
> When every traitor's in his grave,
> In Maryland, my Maryland.

In "Hurrah! For the Union!" the author is glad that the Union flag is waving again in "dear old Baltimore!" A man who signed "F. H. S. . . ." composed the "Baltimore Union Song!" sung to the tune of "Rosin your Bow." This contains a plea "to drive the serpent Secession away." The writer blames Marshal Kane for the "mob" on April 19th, 1861, when Massachusetts troops passed through Baltimore.

Another pro-Union song sheet entitled "Baltimore Prisoners at Fort Lafayette. Traitor's Doom," was sung to the air of the "Old Grey Goose." These verses favored the imprisonment at this New York fort of all traitors to the Union. "We know our Rights," was sung to the tune of a "Life on the Ocean Wave," at

[23] Another song sheet published by Doyle was "The Zouave Boys" to the tune of "Nelly Bly." This was in praise of these Northern soldiers. A song sheet having the title of "The Stars and Stripes" was published by the *Clipper*, a Baltimore newspaper, and the verses were dedicated to a Wisconsin regiment.

a meeting of the Union League Association held at Monument Square over which Governor Augustus W. Bradford of Maryland presided. The verses contain a plea to stand by the Union.

In the city of Philadelphia there were printed verses written by a man who signed "C. S. S." which are of interest to Baltimoreans. They were entitled "The Slain at Baltimore." The author urges the North to avenge those Federal soldiers shot in the city on April 19, 1861:

> There's sorrow and there's weeping by mountain, vale and shore,
> For Freedom's new slain martyrs,—*the Dead at Baltimore*!

In one Philadelphia imprint we find an example of irreligious humor. It is entitled "Johnny's Prayer" and was copied from a Union soldier's letter. It reads:

> Our Father!
> Who art in Washington,
> Uncle Abra'm by name;
> Thy Victory's won;
> Thy will be done;
> In the South,
> As in the North;
> Give us this day,
> Our daily rations,
> Of Crackers and Pork,
> And forgive our
> Failures as we
> For give our Quarter Masters,
> For their short rations;
> For thine is the power;
> The Soldier and
> The Contraband;
> For the space of Three years,
> Amen.

One more Pennsylvania imprint remains to be mentioned. It was also probably printed in Philadelphia. It has the caption "Physic for Traitors. The Great Union War Song." On the song sheet is a picture of Jeff Davis hanging from a gallows. The author suggests:

> Let us hunt up the rascally Traitors,
> And thoroughly physic them now. . . .
> Jeff Davis, you poison old adder,
> The length of your chain you have run;
> You are puff'd up with wind like a bladder,
> And we'll bust you as sure as a gun.

These verses were sung to the tune of the "Red, White and Blue." [24]

One song printed in New York has a romantic flavor. It is entitled "The Captain with his Whiskers as sung by Mrs. W. J. Florence." This tells how a Union captain won the heart of a young girl who sighs:

> Oh, my heart was enlisted, and I could not get free,
> For the Captain with his whiskers took a sure glance at me.[25]

In the Society's collection there are a number of song sheets which advocate the preservation of the Union but which have no

[24] The following song sheets in favor of the Union were also published in Philadelphia: "Our Beautiful Banner!" written by Mrs. Louis F. Neagle and dedicated to Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. This was sung to the tune of the "Star Spangled Banner." "Freeman Arise," written by William Sutherland, and set to the air of "The American Star."

Song sheets in honor of two Union officers killed in action in Virginia during the Civil War were also published in Philadelphia. One of the officers was Colonel Baker killed in battle near Leesburg, Virginia, on October 21, 1861. The song which honored Baker, who was the commander of a California brigade, was entitled the "Death of Colonel Baker." It was composed by William Sutherland to be sung to the tune of "California Brothers."

The other Union officer was Colonel E. E. Ellsworth who was killed on May 24, 1861, at Alexandria, Virginia. It appears that Colonel Ellsworth, of the New York Zouaves, tried to tear down a Confederate flag which was flying in Alexandria. While attempting to do this he was shot by a Southern soldier named Jackson. In retaliation Corporal Brownell, of the New York Zouaves, then shot Jackson. Three song sheets were printed in Philadelphia to commemorate this dramatic incident. One was written by William Sutherland who composed the one about Colonel Baker, and it is entitled the "Assassination of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria, Virginia." It, too, was to be sung to the air of "California Brothers." Of the other two, both published in the same year (1861), one bore the title "In Memory of Col. E. E. Ellsworth," and was written by G. Gumpert, while the third was entitled "On the Death of Col. Ellsworth."

Corporal Brownell who killed Colonel Ellsworth's assailant, was also honored by a song sheet, of which Sutherland was the composer, and who dedicated it to the New York Fire Zouaves. It was entitled "Brownell the Gallant Zouave," and the words were to be sung to the tune of "Rosin the Bow, or Old Tippecanoe."

The South's version of the flag incident at Alexandria is set forth in a song entitled "Jackson's Requiem," set too the air of "Dearest Mae." In the verses Jackson is praised for killing Colonel Ellsworth when he attempted to tear down the Confederate flag.

It is interesting to note that the Society has in its collection verses entitled "Freedom's Banner!!" which was dedicated to the New York Zouaves when they were encamped on Federal Hill, in Baltimore.

[25] There are a number of pro-Union song sheets in the Society's collection which were published in New York, such as "Union and Liberty," and "Traitor, Spare that Flag." The latter was to be sung to the tune of "Woodman spare that tree." Another New York imprint was "Sam Houston and the People." This contains a warning that the people of New York are going to invade Texas. Although not printed in New York, "Beauregard's Bells" contains a similar warning to the people of New Orleans. This song sheet was set to the tune of "Picayune Butler's coming, coming."

date or place of publication printed on them. These include "Our Union, Right or Wrong." The author says the Union must be defended:

> We know no South, we know no North,
> Our Union—right or wrong.

"God Save Our Country," set to the tune of "America," asks divine aid to save the Union. In "The Flag of our Union," sung to the air of "Hail Columbia," the writer feels that the Union flag "will have to do for us all." The "New Yankee Doodle" contains these rollicking verses:

> Yankee Doodle—stick to that,
> 'Twill stand all kinds of weather;
> 'Hail Columbia'—'Star Spangled Banner'—
> Sing 'em all together. [26]

"Gen. McClellan, the Choice of the Nation," sung to the tune of "The Red, White and Blue," praised the general as "the pride of the fearless and free. . . ." [27]

"The French Lady," which was sung to the air of "Sister Mary," describes an incident which happened in Maryland during the Civil War. It appears that Colonel Zarvona Thomas, of the Confederate Army, disguising himself as "a French lady" embarked on a Chesapeake Bay boat which was bound for Washington. At the opportune time he discarded his disguise and, gaining control of captain and crew, he took the vessel to Virginia. Colonel Thomas, however, made the mistake of returning to Baltimore on another boat. Upon his arrival at the city, General Banks, in command of Federal troops there, had him arrested. Thomas was discovered attempting to hide in a bureau-drawer in the women's cabin.

In every war women play an important part and this was true

[26] The following song sheets in favor of the Union also have no date or place of publication stated: "Bully for All"; "Over the Left," to the air of "Sweet Kitty Clover"; "The Union Yankee Doodle"; "Secession over Jordan," by H. Angelo, and "The New C. S. A." to the tune of "Vive-la-Campagnie." The last named song urged loyalty to the Union and "groans for the C. S. A."

[27] In the same vein is "On to Victory. Gen. McClellan's War Song!" which praised the general and those who fought with him. There are also song sheets in praise of Generals Lyon and Scott. One is entitled "On the Death of General Lyon, who fell on the Battlefield," and was to be sung to the air of "Burial of Sir John Moore." The other bore the title of "Scott and the Veteran." This song sheet was written by Bayard Taylor and was published in Baltimore by Thomas G. Doyle.

THE BALTIMORE GIRLS.

Tune—"Dearest Mae."

Oh the Girls of dear old Baltimore,
So beautiful and fair,
With eyes like diamonds sparkling,
And richly flowing hair.
Their hearts are light and cheerful,
And their spirits ever gay,
The Girls of dear old Baltimore,
How beautiful are they.

They smile when we are happy,
When we are sad they sigh,
When anguish wrings our bosoms,
The tear they gently dry,
Oh happy is this city that owns their tender sway,
The Girls of dear old Baltimore,
How beautiful are they,

They are like the lovely flowers,
In summer time that bloom,
On the sportive breezes shedding,
Their choice and sweet perfume,
Our eyes and hearts delighting,
With their fanciful array,
The Girls of dear old Baltimore,
How beautiful are they.

Then ever like true patriots,
May we join both heart and hand,
To protect our lovely maidens
Of this our down trod land,
And that heaven may ever bless them,
We'll all devoutly pray,
The Girls of dear old Baltimore,
How beautiful are they.

Pledge to the Fair by a Confederate

From the Society's Collection

during the Civil War. Most of them in Baltimore were, as was the case with the men, southern in their sympathies. Song sheets in the Society's collection pay tribute to Maryland women. One of them entitled " Southern Prisoner gives his thanks to the Baltimore Ladies," was sung to the tune of "American Boy." In this song a Confederate soldier expresses his appreciation for the kind treatment he received from Baltimore women while imprisoned in the city. Wrote the young man:

> The ladies in Baltimore I never shall forget,
> The kindest ladies I ever saw, live in Baltimore yet.

The Rev. George C. Smith was the author of another tribute in verses entitled " The Women of Baltimore." Dr. Smith commented on the care which they gave to Confederate prisoners in Baltimore:

> To those who cheered the poor prisoner,
> When he his manacles wore,
> A crown shall be given, the brightest—
> The women of Baltimore.

One song sheet, sung to the tune of " Dearest Mae," and entitled " The Baltimore Girls " contains a promise that " the girls of dear old Baltimore, so beautiful and fair " will be protected while the city is in control of Union troops.

In some songs Southern women praise the men who are fighting for the Confederacy. " The Southern Men," by "A Southern Lady," is of this description. " The Southern Matron to her Son," written to the air of " Oh No, My Love, No," describes the scene as a mother parts from her son who is off to fight for the South. In " The Confederate Soldier's Wife parting from her Husband! " we see how Southern women felt towards men fighting for the Confederacy:

> Go forth to conquer; where
> The battle rages fiercest thou wilt be,
> And I will glory that my Love is there
> Struggling for Liberty.[28]

[28] "A Mother's Prayer," by Mrs. Margaret Piggot, was published in Baltimore during April, 1861. She wrote the prayer the night after the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had been fired on while passing through Baltimore on April 19th. Mrs. Piggot hoped for peace.

On April 9th, 1866, after the end of the Civil War, Mrs. Annie Southcomb published some verses in Baltimore entitled "After the War." The lines, written for the Southern Relief Fair, contain a description of the distressing conditions in the South.

The romantic side of the Civil War is stressed in two song sheets, one printed in Richmond in 1861, and the other published in Baltimore during the same year. The Virginia imprint bears the title "Address to her Maryland Lover by a Virginia Girl." It was signed by "M. F. Q." and the words could be sung to the tune of "Fly to the Desert." In these verses the Virginia girl exhorts her Maryland lover to fight for the South and adds:

> Then fly with me, if thou dost claim,
> Thy Southern rights and Southern name.

In Baltimore was printed the "Reply to the Virginian Girl's Address to her Maryland Lover." It was signed by "O. H. S." who assures his sweetheart:

> I'm off for the South,
> Come, who'll go with me,
> I'm bound for Virginia
> My true love to see.[29]

There is only one song sheet in the Society's collection written by a woman which expresses loyalty to the Union. It was entitled "Our Union Flag," and was to be sung to the air of "Nellie Gray." This song which was published by Thomas G. Doyle, of Baltimore, states that it is written by "A Lady of Baltimore." In it the author makes a plea to save the Union—

> And never shall the morn,
> See our banner stain'd and torn,
> By disunion. . . .

The last song sheet to be considered is one which has the rather curious title of "The Ladies of Baltimore, God Bless them, they have beautiful Turned up Noses." The author, who is a Northerner, pokes fun at the women of Baltimore who, he thinks,

[29] It would be interesting to identify "M. F. Q." and "O. H. S."

favor the South and he warns them that there is no hope of Maryland joining the Confederacy:

Our father's Flag, it waves once more,
In Maryland! my Maryland!
Secession's dead in Baltimore,
Through Maryland! my Maryland![30]

[30] On the subject of Civil War song sheets the following books, among others, can be consulted: *Rebel Rhymes and Rhapsodies*, edited by Frank Moore (New York, 1864); *Camp Songs for the Soldier and Poems of Leisure Moments*, by Gen'l William H. Hayward (Baltimore, 1864); *South Songs from the Lays of Later Days*, edited by T. C. De Leon (New York, 1866); *War-Lyrics and other Poems*, by Henry Howard Brownell (Boston, 1866); *War Poetry of the South*, edited by Wm. Gilmore Simms (New York, 1867); *The Southern Poems of the War*, edited by Emily V. Mason (Baltimore, 1868); *Songs and Ballads of the Southern People, 1861-1865*, edited by Frank Moore (New York, 1886); *Southern War Songs*, edited by W. L. Fagan (New York, 1892); *War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865*, edited by H. M. Wharton, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1904).

Many of the song sheets which have been described in this article were donated to the Society by the late H. Oliver Thompson, Henry Stockbridge and Elizabeth Collins Lee. Mr. Louis H. Dielman, of the Peabody Institute, and several others have also contributed a number of song sheets. The Society is grateful for these donations and hopes that others will follow their example.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles Branch Clark

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, page 399, December, 1942)

UNIONIST DOMINATION, NOVEMBER 1861–NOVEMBER 1864

Since the elections of November, 1861, indicated that the legislature would be controlled by the Unionists, Governor Hicks decided to summon that body into special session, in order to align the State with the North in defense of the Union. He therefore issued a call on November 16 for the legislature to assemble in Annapolis on December 3.[1]

On the day the legislature met, the *Baltimore American* said now that "treason is frowned down; the loyal are reassured; and commercial prosperity is in process of restoration." It congratulated Maryland for remaining in the Union after coming so close to secession. "Looking back in the past six months, it is difficult to conceive how any amongst us can withstand the demonstration of that wise forbearance which has saved us from so much of evil . . ." The legislature, said this journal, should pass measures to aid in the suppression of the rebellion. It should also "recognize by its formal action," the invaluable services of Governor Hicks, and "his noble firmness, which would be but poorly repaid could these be commemorated by the erection of a statue of gold."[2]

Governor Hicks, in his message to the legislature on December 4, attempted to justify his actions of the preceding twelve months. He said the course followed on April 19 was the only one open to him. He had feared that the secessionists would adopt violent measures if he openly resisted them. He believed his official conduct was irreproachable and that it was approved by the majority in Maryland. Hicks said he had refused to call a special session of the legislature earlier than April because he feared that "through some juggle Maryland would be forced to secede." Once the legislature did meet, it passed "treasonable" resolu-

[1] G. L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (J. H. U. Studies) (1901), p. 119; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, I (1861), 448.
[2] December 3, 1861.

tions, and only the "unmistakable threats of an aroused and indignant people" prevented it from authorizing a State convention that might have led to secession. The people's money had been "squandered" and the legislature had become a "mockery before the country." Hicks said that it was necessary for the present legislature to counteract the work of the April session, controlled as it had been by a band of "traitors," and prove Maryland's devotion to the Union. He urged that the legislature make arrangements to equip the soldiers called for in Maryland's quota, and promptly pay the State's share of the direct taxes levied by the United States government.[3]

The *Baltimore American* characterized Hicks's message as "eminently loyal and patriotic, and marked by the intelligent, practical good sense characteristic of its author."[4] It approved Hicks's avowal that Maryland would do her part in suppressing the rebellion, and severely punish anyone in the State convicted of aiding or abetting those in arms against the government. Hicks himself was characterized as a "stanch sentinel on the watch-tower of the nation," and the "custodian of—the bulwark to—the national capital as well."[5]

The legislature endeavored to undo all that its predecessor had done in opposing the Federal administration. Its chief measure repealed the act passed in April which indemnified Baltimore officials for penalties incurred in suppressing disorder on April 19.[6] Few measures of importance were passed by the special session of the legislature. On December 19, a joint committee was appointed to interview General McClellan and "solicit the adoption of some plan to prevent the admission of fugitive slaves, within the lines of the Army."[7] A set of resolutions that defended the Federal government's prosecution of the war was adopted. These declared that the war was not one of subjugation, conquest, interference with the institution of slavery, or with the rights of the states, but one waged to defend the Union.[8]

[3] *Maryland House Documents* (1861-1862), Doc. A; *Baltimore American*, December 5, 1861.
[4] December 5, 1861.
[5] December 6, 1861.
[6] Laws of Maryland (1861-1862), Chapter 13. Passed January 4, 1862.
[7] Maryland Senate Journal (1861-1862), p. 44; *Maryland House Journal* (1861-1862), pp. 92-93; *Laws of Maryland* (1861-1862), Resolution No. 2.
[8] *Laws of Maryland* (1861-1862), pp. 332-334.

While the Maryland legislature was in special session, the Virginia legislature invited Enoch Louis Lowe, former Governor of Maryland, to "occupy one of the privileged seats on the floor of the Hall." Lowe had been an active supporter of James Buchanan in 1856, and of John C. Breckinridge in 1860. When the war broke out he remained in Baltimore so long as he could safely aid the South and so long as he thought there was a chance for Maryland to secede. He had openly proclaimed his sympathy for the Southern cause. In his reply to the Virginia legislature, Lowe expressed his earnest desire that Maryland should secede.[9] He believed that ultimately such would be the case.

> God knows [he declared] they [Marylanders] love the sunny South as dearly as any son of the Palmetto State. They idolize the chivalrous honor, the stern and refined idea of free government, the social dignity and conservatism which characterize the southern mind and heart as enthusiastically as those of their southern brethren who were born where the snow never falls.

He bitterly denounced Hicks, who, as Maryland's "false-hearted" Governor, had "purposely left her [Maryland] in a defenseless condition, in order that he might without peril to himself deliver her up at the suitable time to be crucified and receive his thirty pieces of silver as the price of his unspeakable treachery."[10] Lowe thought Maryland's fate was closely tied up with Virginia's, and believed the State could be of tremendous help to the Confederacy.

The regular session of the legislature met on January 1, a week before Bradford was inaugurated Governor. Hicks made his last address to the legislature on January 2. He congratulated the members on the work they had completed or begun in the special session of December; but he was concerned chiefly with questions of State finance and public improvements.[11] Hicks surrendered his office at a time when a loyal legislature had assembled and when the Unionists were fairly certain to control the State. A strong

[9] Enoch Louis Lowe to James L. Kemper, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates. The letter was printed in the *Richmond Dispatch*, December 28, 1861, the Baltimore *South*, December 30, 1861, and the *Maryland News Sheet*, December 31, 1861.

[10] The *South*, Baltimore, December 30, 1861.

[11] Maryland House Documents (1861-1862), Doc. B; *Baltimore American*, January 3, 1862; *Maryland News Sheet*, January 3, 1862.

secession sentiment still lurked in Maryland, however. The *Baltimore American* said: " It parades our streets with impudent sneers at everything loyal; flaunts itself in our churches and public assemblies; insults the Union sentiment on all occasions; and every week almost, is caught affording aid and comfort to the enemy . . . " [12]

The newspapers commented upon Hicks's retirement from office according to their degree of loyalty to the Union. He was highly praised by the most loyal papers. The *American* believed that his term was remarkable for the " extraordinary events with which it is filled and for its *National* rather than its local importance.[13] His action in not convening the legislature during the preceding winter was again praised by this paper. " For four months of the winter of 1860-1861, it may be said that Governor Hicks was the sole sentinel and guard of Washington." He was credited with having saved Maryland for the Union, and thereby having saved the national capital.[14]

The Baltimore *South*, however, had little praise for Hicks. An article for the occasion was entitled " Exit Hicks," and concluded " Peace to the ashes of Hicks." It stated that he had been elected in 1857 " by the perpetration of the most barefaced frauds upon the election franchise." And since January 1, 1861, his letters, speeches, and actions " would display an amount of contradiction and self stultification sufficient to put even a brazen image to the blush,—but Hicks has forgotten how to do that." [15] From St. Mary's county came the expressions which best characterized the secessionists of the State. The *St. Mary's Beacon* commented on Hicks's retirement as follows:

> We too, in common with the administration press of the State, have a word of congratulation on the subject of Governor Hicks' message. We congratulate ourselves that it is the last. It is impossible to say what future evils Heaven may have in store for our unhappy State, but unless it is given over to final perdition, it will never again be afflicted with another Hicks. We know but little of our new ruler, Mr. Bradford, and nothing to his credit. He is said to be a man of exceedingly little feeling

[12] January 4, 1862. The editorial from which this is taken is entitled: " The Imperative Necessity of Vindicating The Position of Maryland."
[13] January 6, 1862.
[14] *Ibid.* See the issue of January 9, 1862, for similar sentiments from an Annapolis correspondent.
[15] January 8, 1862.

and of strong Abolition proclivities. Be it so. We welcome any change that liberates us from the vulgar dominion of a government pimp and informer. Hicks is the first governor in our history that Maryland has had to blush for. He may not be the last, but none lower than he can come after him. His present message is neither better nor worse than those which have preceded it, and, indeed, there is a pretty strong family likeness between them—We have noticed that he is fond of referring in deprecating and slanderous terms to those good, great and brave men who are now suffering for Maryland in Fort Warren. He is not worthy to tie their shoe-strings. The best thing he can do for them is to hate them, and such as he is may all that ever hate them be.[16]

Despite such dissenting opinions, the people of Maryland generally and sincerely respected Governor Hicks. Once he decided to support the Union he did so with all his strength and his course became a steadfast one.

Various proposals were brought forward to reward Hicks for his services to the Union. The Baltimore *South* reported that he had been promoted to the position of major-general in the United States Army, and was to succeed General Dix as commanding officer of the Department of Maryland. "This is substituting King Stork for King Log. All hail to Hicks, *redivivus*," said the *South*.[17] This report turned out to be groundless, but there were other rumors that Hicks would be named commander of one of the military divisions into which Maryland had been divided.[18] The *New York Tribune* suggested that Hicks be appointed Secretary of the Navy to succeed Gideon Welles, who was believed ready to resign.[19] Lincoln did appoint Hicks a brigadier-general and he was directed by Secretary of War Stanton to report to Governor Bradford on July 26.[20] Hicks was in poor health at the time and did not enter upon the duties of this assignment. He received his reward, however, when the legislature elected him to fill out the unexpired term of United States Senator James Alfred Pearce who died in December, 1862.

Governor Bradford's inauguration was a colorful event, long remembered by all those who were in attendance. Many citizens arrived at the capital the evening before from Baltimore and

[16] Reprinted in the *Maryland News Sheet*, January 11, 1862.
[17] January 11, 1862.
[18] G. W. Jefferson to Hicks, January 17, 1862. See Radcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Hicks to Bradford, cited by Radcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

other parts of the State. The crowd was so great that many were unable to procure beds and were compelled to sleep on sofas and benches in the various hotels and boarding houses. The Senate Chamber, scene of the inauguration, was filled at an early hour on January 8. General Ambrose E. Burnside and other army officers were present. Many women gladly sat on the floor, for the doors were closed to an overflowing crowd. The bands of the Public Guard Regiment and the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment were stationed in the gallery and during the ceremony added to the interest of the occasion by playing appropriate airs. Despite the large crowd and excitement, the greatest decorum prevailed.[21]

Bradford's inaugural address was generally characterized as able and eloquent.[22] What he said was not new to the people of Maryland, for Bradford had made his position clear in his gubernatorial campaign and at various Union meetings. He bitterly condemned the rebellion, and expressed his unqualified support of the Union and the Constitution. The following excerpt gives the tenor of the address:

> The leaders of the rebellion may assert over and over again that the South never will submit to this national rule—that it will resist to the last the proposed reunion. So far as those leaders are concerned, we may not doubt the sincerity of their protest; their offences against free institutions are too rank and too recent to allow them willingly again to submit to the will of the majority. But to say nothing of that popular voice which they have for the present stifled, to admit, for argument sake, that one sentiment pervades the entire South, and that it clamors for a separate government; earnest as that purpose may be, there is a still stronger force opposed to it, not merely the force of a vast numerical superiority, but a power made irresistible by the force of necessity; a controlling and decisive power, growing out of the demands which the laws of self-preservation make imperative. Nationality with us, therefore, is a necessity and peace, anxiously as we may await it, can never come until that necessity is recognized, and our whole country once more united under its old established rule.

The *Baltimore American* said this address was "' one of those sterling productions bearing on the exigencies of the times, clear in its appreciation of the great events of the day in all their bearings and wise in its dealings with them." It was one " that every

[21] *Baltimore American*, January 9, 1862.

[22] For the address see *Maryland House Documents* (1862), Doc. F; *Baltimore American*, January 9, 1862; *Appleton's*, II (1862), 560. It was also printed in pamphlet form.

lover of the Union in the State can most heartily endorse, and in calling attention to its prominent points we do so with a thorough belief in its wisdom and conservatism, fully justified by the antecedents of its distinguished author." Bradford was said to be " firm in his convictions and plain and determined in the expression of them." [23] An Annapolis correspondent said the " address is highly spoken of by all who heard it, and seems to meet with the general approbation it deserves. No doubt the people when they come to read it will be rejoiced to find that the principles there enunciated are but the principles of themselves." [24]

The Baltimore *Sun*, however, was not impressed by the address. It found the " subject matter confined mainly to a review of the condition of the State and its relation to current events, according to Mr. Bradford's appreciation and construction of them." The *Sun* agreed, however, with the Governor's stand against interference with slavery in Maryland, and felt that the State held the same opinion thereon.[25]

The legislature of 1862 was one of marked ability.[26] The House of Delegates counted among its members the famed Reverdy Johnson; John A. J. Creswell, later a United States Senator; Thomas S. Alexander; Thomas King Carroll; R. Stockett Matthews; J. V. L. Findlay, and John S. Berry.

One of the first acts of the regular session was to ratify the pending amendment that forbade any amendment to the Federal Constitution that would give Congress the power to abolish or interfere with the domestic institution of African slavery in any of the states.[27] An act was passed creating the " Maryland Defense Loan," for the defense of the State, and a sum was appropriated sufficient to pay the State's share to the United States for suppress-

[23] January 10, 1862.
[24] *Baltimore American*, January 9, 1862.
[25] January 10, 1862.
[26] The new legislature, elected on November 6, 1861, had a strong Union preponderance. In the Senate there were thirteen Unionists and eight State Rights men. In the House of Delegates there were sixty-eight Unionists and six State Rights men. *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1861; see also Bradford's tabulated statement, citing the above figures for the House of Delegates, and assigning two of the six State Rights men to St. Mary's County, two to Calvert, and two to Charles County, Bradford MSS.
[27] *Maryland House Journal* (1862), pp. 164, 173; *Maryland Senate Journal* (1862), p. 97; *Laws of Maryland* (1862), Chapter 21, pp. 21-22. Passed on January 10.

ing the rebellion and maintaining the integrity of the Union.[28] The sum of $7,000 was appropriated for the families of the members of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment who were killed or disabled in Baltimore on April 19, 1861. John A. Andrews, Governor of Massachusetts, was to distribute the sum.[29]

The House of Delegates, almost by unanimous vote, denounced the assertion made by Jefferson Davis in a speech at Richmond on February 22, 1862. Davis had said: "Maryland, already united to us by hallowed ties and natural interests, will when able to speak with an unstifled voice, unite her destiny with the South." [30] The House repudiated this statement in a resolution that also contradicted resolutions adopted by the rebellious legislature of 1861.

Resolved, by the General Assembly of Maryland, That such assertion is an unfounded and gross calumny upon the people of the State, who, sincerely lamenting the madness of self-inflicted misfortune of our brethren of the South, acting under a delusion caused by the acts of the aspiring and criminal ambition of a few designing men, are but admonished by the sad condition of such brethren, of the fatal results sure to follow from the course which they have pursued, and are more and more convinced of the obligation, alike of interest and duty, to abide, with undying attachment, to the Union devised for us by our fathers, as absolutely necessary to our social and political happiness, and the preservation of the very liberty which they fought and bled to achieve for us.[31]

The most important law passed by this legislature defined treason and fixed the penalty for it.[32] Passed only after very lengthy debate, the law was an exceedingly stringent one. It inflicted the death penalty on any one who should be convicted of treasonably levying "war against this State, or shall adhere to the enemies thereof, whether foreign or domestic, giving them aid or comfort, within this State or elsewhere." It also prescribed various degrees of punishment for numerous offenses, such as conspiring to burn bridges, destroy railroads, break canals, or uniting with or belonging to any secret club or association attempting to effect, promote,

[28] *Laws of Maryland* (1861-1862), Chapter 143, pp. 154-157.
[29] *Ibid.*, Chapter 99, pp. 105-106. Passed March 5, 1862. This act caused a marked sensation when read before the Massachusetts House of Representatives. *Boston Post*, April 22, 1862, cited by Moore, *Rebellion Record*, IV, "Diary," p. 96.
[30] *Maryland House Journal* (1862), p. 586; Moore, *op. cit.*, IV, "Diary," p. 40.
[31] *Maryland House Journal* (1862), p. 586.
[32] *Laws of Maryland* (1862), Chapter 235, pp. 250-254. See the *Baltimore American*, March 15, 1862, for this bill. Also J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), III, 465-466.

or encourage the secession of Maryland. Such minor offenses as displaying the Confederate flag; offering inducements to any minor or other person to abandon his home or place of residence to go into a rebellious State; furnishing to any minor or any other person money, clothing, or conveyance of any kind for such an object; giving aid or comfort to the enemies of the State; exciting rebellion, or seducing anyone to such acts were to be punished. This act, passed on March 6, 1862, was to become effective on April 1, but its provisions were never enforced. A contemporary historian reports that he knew of no instance in which parties were arrested and punished under its provisions.[33]

The treason act was evidence of a strong Union sentiment in the legislature, and the State at large seemed to support the measure. The fact that it was not enforced, however, either indicates that the rebel sympathizers were properly warned by its provisions and gave no additional trouble, or that its provisions were considered too stringent to enforce. In the light of trouble given to the State officials by the Southern sympathizers in subsequent months, the latter deduction seems to be the more valid one. Another act deprived any person charged with treason or felony of the writ of habeas corpus.[34]

A strong Southern feeling continued to exist among certain groups in Maryland. A correspondent to the *Boston Journal* of January 14, 1862, reported that the " latest scoundrelism of secession " showed itself in the election of executive officers of the Baltimore Corn Exchange, " an important and hitherto respectable mercantile Association." [35] The Union members, " not wishing to carry politics into business, and like good citizens striving to live peaceably with their neighbors," abstained from voting against the secession members of the old board; but the secessionists of the Corn Exchange not only elected a man president who was then a prisoner at Fort Warren, but voted against every Union member of the board. Consequently, said this correspondent, the board became exclusively a disunion one. Whereupon the loyal members met and denounced such conduct, organized themselves into a new exchange, and planned to seek from the legislature a charter of

[33] Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 465-466.
[34] *Laws of Maryland* (1862), Chapter 36, pp. 47-48.
[35] Reprinted in Baltimore *South*, January 20, 1862.

their own and a suspension of the charter held by the secession board. "The incident . . . shows the bitter intolerance of secession, which intends to taboo every loyal man socially, politically, and in mercantile affairs. The Union men tolerate secession, but if secession ever gets the upper hand here, it will put the knife to every loyalist's throat." The whole conduct of the secessionists was called "rebellious, treasonable, merciless, murderous, infamous, crazy with the foulest passions." [36]

The Union leaders attempted to clarify their position on political issues and party politics at a banquet given for General Robert C. Schenck, commander of the Middle Department, in January, 1863. Governor Bradford, speaking for the Unionists, said:

> The Loyal men of Maryland . . . have no parties to sustain, no parties to create, no parties to revive. They have no presidents to make, no presidents to recommend. Were the presidential election to come off in a month, Maryland's loyal men would not rest their hopes on the Republican party or the Democratic party, or the old line Whig party. They would propose no candidate but a pure *Pro Patria*, Anti-rebellion honest man, and that alone would fill up the measure of their candidate for the Presidency. They know full well that however much any one party may have had to do in tearing down the fair fabric which was once such a pride of all of us, that no one party can of themselves ever build it up again . . .
>
> . . . The loyal men of Maryland have but one purpose and one hope, but one ambition and one thought, and that is the *Union*, its restoration, its preservation, its perpetuity. We would save it at all hazards, and if not with all the improvements that some of us might suggest, then with all the interests and institutions that have ever found shelter beneath it. He would then, at least, be saving it in the identical shape in which our fathers themselves received it from their own patriotic ancestry. We would, therefore, save the Ark and all that it contains, every bird and every beast, and every creeping thing that ever found refuge beneath its roof. But if this be not possible, and some must be thrown overboard, then let them go I say—sacred, patriarchal, though some may regard them—go to the very depths of the sea, so that we may save the ark itself with its precious freight of popular government, public liberty, republican institutions, religious toleration, the home of our children, the hope of the universe . . . [37]

[36] *Ibid.*, The *South* argued this point, saying that according to the *Baltimore Clipper* and *American*, Baltimore, from April 18 to April 28, 1861, was controlled by a "secession mob." Yet during that time, says the *South*, "no one was molested —no one was imprisoned or injured—and if any person sneaked from the city, after the style of Mr. Henry Winter Davis and some others whom we could name, their guilty fears and natural cowardice prompted the step, and not the threats or menaces of the secessionists.'"

[37] *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (1879), p. 34.

Early in 1863 the Unionists held conferences to plan how " they might . . . more effectually . . . sustain the National Administration in its great struggles." [38] At one of these meetings, held at Cumberland on April 30, resolutions calling for a state convention were adopted. Accordingly, the Grand League issued a call for a state convention to assemble in Baltimore on June 16, 1863.[39] The call was addressed to " all persons who support the whole policy of the Government in suppressing the rebellion." Before this convention met, however, Unionists of both radical and conservative character met in Baltimore on May 23 and nominated candidates for Congress for the Maryland districts. John A. J. Creswell, Edwin H. Webster, Henry Winter Davis, Francis Thomas, and John G. Holland were named as candidates from the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Districts, respectively. Davis was said to have strong opposition from the conservative leader, Thomas Swann,[40] but was nominated by a vote of 45-2. There was no opposition to the other candidates. Nomination for State comptroller, for commissioner of the land office, and for the legislature were also to be made, but because of friction between the radical and conservative Unionists the convention broke up without completing its work. The former decided to meet again in the Grand League Convention already slated to meet on June 16, while the conservatives set June 23 for a meeting.

The Grand League Convention met on June 16 and adopted resolutions asserting that the unconditional Union men of Maryland should vote only for candidates who pledged themselves to a hearty and full support for the administration. Nor should any candidate be supported for the State legislature who did not

[38] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 615-616. The following discussion is also drawn from this source.

[39] See *Baltimore American*, May 13, 1863, for an account of the Cumberland meeting. The most prominent speaker was ex-governor Francis Thomas, then a Congressman, who fully supported President Lincoln's policies. Three resolutions were passed. The first concurred in support of Lincoln and urged the organization of a new party whose object would be to support the administration in all its measures. The second resolution called for a convention, and the third provided for the selection of a county delegate. The *Baltimore American* urged that the coming election decide for all time the loyalty of Maryland, and that secession be " humbled, defeated, overthrown," so that it might become a " thing—a horror—of the past."

[40] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1863. Many delegates who favored Swann refused to participate in the nominating convention because of alleged frauds in the choice of delegates to the convention.

pledge himself to vote for a constitutional convention that would adopt emancipation in Maryland. This convention appointed a committee to confer with the conservatives when they met on June 23 in an attempt to agree on candidates for State offices and the legislature, and adjourned to reassemble on June 23.

The conventions of the Grand League and the conservative Unionists both assembled on June 23. For the sake of distinction the former was called the Union League Convention and the latter the State Central Committee Convention. The committee of conference of the Union League Convention proposed to a similar committee of the State Central Committee Convention that the conventions should unite in a call for a third convention at which nominations should be made jointly for comptroller, land commissioner, and the State legislature. The proposition was declined, however, and since its adoption had been made an alternative, the two conventions henceforth acted independently of each other. The State Central Committee adopted a series of resolutions that declared loyalty and support to the Union and the Constitution, and rebuked " with cordial alacrity every effort to create disunion by the formation of parties or factions opposed to the Government or injurious to the Constitution." The resolutions demanded that personal feelings and differences on subordinate issues and State policies should be cast aside. After nominating S. S. Maffit for comptroller and William L. W. Seabrook for land commissioner, and a State ticket, the convention adjourned.[41]

The Union League Convention also named William L. W. Seabrook for land commissioner, but chose Henry Howe Goldsborough for comptroller. A full State ticket of Unconditional Unionists was nominated and resolutions were adopted supporting the Federal administration in all its measures to suppress the rebellion. Another resolution stated that love of the Union and support of the administration could not be separated, and if the Union and the Constitution were favored, the administration must necessarily be supported. This resolution was aimed at the State Central Convention which favored the Union and the Constitution but protested what it called the administration's high-handed methods.[42]

[41] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 615-616.
[42] *Ibid.*

The split among the Unionists caused much bitterness, and some peculiar situations arose. Unconditional Unionists gained control of a meeting held at Snow Hill, nominated a ticket for Worcester County, and endorsed John A. J. Creswell for Representative in Congress. The conservative Unionists, led by Congressman Crisfield who sought re-election from the First District, objected to the candidates. Crisfield's friends adopted the platform of the Union State Central Committee and placed an independent Union ticket in the field. They approved Lincoln's course in suppressing the war but objected to the injection of the emancipation question in the election. The Unconditional Unionists tried to have members of the conservative Union group arrested.[43]

Leaders of the Democratic party, which had put no candidates in the field since the 1860 elections, attempted to reinvigorate their party. Most of the counties of the Eastern Shore and of Southern Maryland held conventions and nominated candidates for the legislature. But in some cases they ran as Peace men rather than Democrats. In the Fifth Congressional District, however, the Democrats entered the election openly. They held a District Convention and nominated Benjamin G. Harris for Congress. Their position is clearly stated in the following resolutions:

Resolved, That as Union men, we are not only opposed to emancipation in this State, but even to all agitation of the question at this time as premature and unwise, and likely to cause division where there should be a Union, and permanent discord where there should be abiding harmony.

Resolved, That we support the Union for the sake of the Constitution, and are opposed to the exercise by the general government of all unauthorized powers, deeming it of little consequence if the Constitution is to be sacrificed, whether it is effected by usurpation or rebellion.

Resolved, That our devotion for the Union increases with its perils; and regarding it as the palladium of our liberties, the ark of true republicanism, and the hope and asylum of the oppressed of all nations, we yield it our heart-felt allegiance, and will ever support it by legal and constitutional means.[44]

The temperate tone of these resolutions won many votes for Harris.

The Unionist conventions tended to drive most of the secession-

[43] S. S. McMaster of Newtown, Worcester County, to A. W. Bradford, October 20, 1863, Bradford MSS.

[44] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 618.

ists in the State to cover. The *Baltimore American* said that at "all events Baltimore is a loyal, quiet, well-regulated city. . . . Aye! Copperheads in Baltimore know too well the value of their heads to attempt their unseemly wagging among us. . . ." They have been taught "in many ways, that the Union men of Baltimore, even were there no military regime to sustain them, are quite equal to any demand which may be made upon them for self-protection." Loyal men were declared to be "vigilant, full of nerve, of confidence in themselves, unified by proper organization, and ready to demonstrate their strength whenever Copperheads attempt to sting." [45]

An important Union meeting, presided over by Governor Bradford, was held in Baltimore on July 28. It adopted a resolution requesting President Lincoln to "instruct the general in command of this Military Department to require all male citizens above the age of eighteen" to take an oath to "maintain the national sovereignty paramount to that of all State, county, or corporate powers," and to "discourage, discountenance, and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and the distintegration of the Federal Union." Those refusing to take this oath were to be banished from their homes. The upper branch of the Baltimore city council adopted a resolution requesting General John E. Wool to "administer such an oath to all the citizens of the City of Baltimore at the earliest possible period." General Wool denied this request because he believed the oath would "send twenty thousand men to swell the army of Jefferson Davis." [46]

The question of emancipation led to a complete division of the Unionist party in the fall of 1863. Members of the group headed by the State Central Committee became known as Union men while the "Union Leaguers" were called Unconditional Unionists. The State Central Committee, composed of Thomas Swann, former Mayor of Baltimore, who was chairman, and Governor Bradford, William H. Purnell, Edwin Webster, Mayor Chapman, J. V. L. Findlay, and Judge William Alexander,[47] issued an

[45] July 18, 1863.

[46] J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (1874), pp. 626-627.

[47] Aloysius Leo Knott, *A Biographical Sketch of A. Leo Knott With a Relation of Some Political Transactions in Maryland, 1861-1867, Being the History of the Redemption of a State* (1898), pp. 36-37. Knott was a leader of the reorganized or revived Democratic party of 1864 in Maryland. He ran for Congress against Colonel Charles E. Phelps of the Third District, Baltimore.

address to the people of Maryland on September 11 advising them not to follow the ultra views of the Unconditional Unionists who demanded immediate emancipation, without regard to constitutional rights or reasonable convenience of slaveholders. The question of emancipation, said this address, should not be paramount as an issue in the coming election since it would distract the harmony of the Union party. Constitutional means alone should be employed in the emancipation of slaves. A state convention was favored to settle the issue after the rebellion was suppressed. Union men, it was declared, consisted of emancipationists and slaveholders alike, and the former should not be allowed to alienate the support of the latter. All side issues must be ignored in order to maintain a united front.[48]

The Unconditional Unionists were not to be outdone and five days later met and issued an address of their own. This group, considered revolutionary by the conservative Unionists, numbered among its foremost members Henry Winter Davis, John A. J. Creswell, Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, Henry Howe Goldsborough, Archibald Stirling, Jr., Henry Stockbridge, and Stockett Matthews. They claimed to have the support of a majority of the rank and file of the people.[49] They declared that they also opposed the violent abolition of slavery, but they believed that it should be abolished at the earliest moment compatible with the best interests of the State and the "permanent welfare, stability, and unity of the nation." Emancipation, they believed, would eliminate the major cause of the war and help bring on peace. For this reason they would support candidates in November who favored a State convention. This group also differed from the conservative Unionists by favoring the use of Negro troops. Owners of slaves who were enlisted, however, should be compensated.

The *Baltimore American* considered this a "most able and straightforward" position and supported it fully. It

> regretted that there should be any division among our loyal voters, but when we look back to the course of most of our Representatives in the last Congress, and observe the weak and unwilling support they gave to the government, and in some cases their position of direct antagonism to important measures, such a result was to be anticipated. These are not times to trust uncertain men with the powers of legislation or official

[48] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 615-616.
[49] Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, p. 37.

position. Men who insert 'ifs' and 'buts' in their platform for sustaining the Union, and supporting the Government in the prosecution of the war and the suppression of the rebellion, it is scarcely necessary to say, can receive no support or encouragement from the *American*.[50]

Henry Winter Davis, the unopposed candidate for Congress in the Third District, said that the "great question" was not whether the Union should be preserved by arms; that was undisputed. The real question, now that Maryland was permanently consolidated with the United States, was emancipation, and the election on November 4 should decide that as a fundamental issue.[51]

The election offered a real test of strength between the two factions. The Unconditional Union group was conscious of the opposition's strength and early in the campaign opened headquarters in Baltimore. Conferences were held with the party's nominees for Congress—Creswell, Webster, Davis, Thomas and Holland, and a vigorous campaign was agreed upon. A series of meetings covering the entire State was planned. Two or more of the congressional candidates were to be present at each of the meetings.[52]

The fight between Goldsborough and Maffit for State comptroller took an interesting turn. Each claimed Governor Bradford as his leading supporter. Maffit sent Bradford a clipping taken from the *Cecil Whig*, which he described as "a paper of the most radical abolition type," published at Elkton.[53] The clipping contained a list of prominent supporters of each candidate and at the head of the list of Goldsborough supporters was Governor Bradford's name. Maffit stated that Bradford was evidently unaware of the use of his name and would no doubt correct the mistake.[54]

The *Kent News* of Chestertown charged that the *Baltimore American* was the organ of the Unconditional Union party, and the *American* felt called upon to explain its position.

[50] September 16, 1863.
[51] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 623.
[52] *Baltimore American*, September 24, 1863.
[53] Maffit to Bradford, September 23, 1863, Bradford MSS.
[54] Other men listed as Goldsborough supporters were Edwin H. Webster, Francis Thomas, H. Winter Davis, William B. Hill (Bradford's Secretary of State), Charles C. Fulton (editor of the *Baltimore American*), John A. J. Creswell, and "all the friends of the Government in the State." Among Maffit's supporters the following were listed: Charles B. Calvert, John B. Crisfield, George Vickers, James B. Ricaud, and a "few more Copperheads hardly worth notice." Actually, Bradford was sympathetic with the latter group, but in the ensuing election seems to have maintained openly a neutral position.

We would respectfully inform the editor of the *Kent News* that the *American* is not the organ of any party—does not desire to be the organ of any party—and never has had any aspirations for party leadership. With regard to the nominations now before the people, we care nothing for the means by which they were nominated, nor for the men either—our preference is for the sentiments that candidates may entertain and express. Our idea is to get rid of slavery in the State of Maryland at the earliest practicable moment that such a result can be obtained. Every Secessionist in the State will vote for Mr. Maffitt, Mr. Crisfield and Mr. Calvert, believing that they will do all in their power to procrastinate and retard Emancipation. These are reasons enough for us to oppose their election and we think reason enough for every true Union man in the State to do likewise.[55]

This journal did not cease to proclaim Maryland's duty in the coming election. The State should not be "untrue to the glorious recollections of the past," should emphatically declare "her undying hatred to all that threatens the durability of the Union," continue to fight the battle for freedom, and "ring out another verdict to make the ears of traitors tingle who hear it." [56] The The *American* believed that every secessionist in the State would oppose Henry Winter Davis. He promised in his speech of acceptance to give his full support to the Lincoln administration and said he favored emancipation. He repudiated the side issue of "weak-kneed Union men," and stated that he would advocate the bill proposing an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the indemnification of slaveholders.[57]

Both the Democratic and conservative Union candidates feared that their chances would be greatly jeopardized by the presence of the Federal military machine on election day. Benjamin G. Harris, Democratic candidate for Congress from the Fifth District, petitioned Lincoln against such interference. The public, he said, was "in a state of uncertainty and excitement on the subject, which is likely to increase as the day of election approaches, and it would seem that it is entitled, under the circumstances, to some decided assurance from your Excellency." [58] Lincoln made no public reply to this letter as Harris had hoped he would.

[55] October 12, 1863.
[56] October 23, 1863.
[57] June 6, 1863.
[58] *National Intelligencer*, October 17, 1863; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 17, 1863.

George Vickers, close adviser of Governor Bradford, informed the governor from Chestertown that the Unconditional Unionists were urging that voters of an " odious or objectionable character," should be required to take a test oath. Vickers insisted that such an oath was both unconstitutional anl unnecessary since Maryland laws provide voting qualifications. Bradford should appeal to Lincoln, said Vickers, to prevent interference of any nature in the election, and he should also let the public know through the press that he opposed such interference.[59]

Ex-Governor Hicks supported the conservative Unionists. He wrote to Bradford that they could not hope to please the " fanatics " and " political sycophants," among whom he included Henry Winter Davis, Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, John A. J. Creswell, and others. Hicks was surprised at Creswell's conversion to Unconditional Union doctrines, for he had earlier appeared in harmony with the conservatives. Hicks approved the use of Negroes in the Army, but opposed the method by which they were enlisted. As a slaveholder, he favored neither immediate nor uncompensated emancipation. He felt certain that Crisfield would win over Creswell if the military did not interfere.[60]

A series of official communications between the Federal authorities and the Maryland civil authorities began on October 26, 1863, dealing with the November election. On that day Hicks, despite his recently quoted views to Bradford, wrote to General Schenck: " Our election is now near at hand, and I see no restriction placed upon the disloyal voters of our State; it does seem to me that if nothing else is done, there should be a stringent oath prepared, and the judges required to exact of all doubtful voters to take the oath, and they refusing shall not vote." [61] Hicks's inconsistency, diplayed in this letter and the one to Bradford, reminds one of his fence-sitting in 1861.

On October 26, Thomas Swann, chairman of the State Central Committee, wrote to President Lincoln declaring that the Union

[59] Vickers to Bradford, October 22, 1863, Bradford MSS. Vickers quoted the Provost Marshal of the Eastern Shore as saying that what could not be effected by " greenbacks," could be effected by the bayonet in the coming election. Vickers, as others, was beginning to speak of " Radical Republicans."

[60] Hicks to Bradford, October 20, 1863, Bradford MSS.

[61] Hicks to Schenck, October 26, 1863. Bradford MSS. Schenck turned this letter over to Bradford.

men of Maryland had reason to believe that the election would be " attended with undue interference on the part of persons claiming to represent the best wishes of the government." [62] Swann asked the President to reply to him in connection with this matter. Lincoln wrote on the following day:

> Your letter, a copy of which is on the other half of this sheet, is received . . . there is no just ground for the suspicion you mention; and I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubts of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland, and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.[63]

The conservative Unionists, led by Governor Bradford, were not satisfied with this reply. Four days later the Governor reported to President Lincoln rumors that " detachments of soldiers are to be dispatched on Monday next to several of the counties of the State with a view of being present at their polls, on Wednesday next, the day of our State election." Bradford had also learned " that orders are to be issued from this military detachment on Monday, presenting certain restrictions, or qualifications in the right of suffrage—of what precise character I am not apprised—which the Judges of election will be expected to observe." [64] He could not believe that Lincoln knew of such orders for the President had told Reverdy Johnson, in his presence on October 22, that he opposed any interference. He, therefore, wrote to Johnson at once asking for " authentic information " on the matter.[65]

Bradford understood that Lincoln had countermanded the proposed order of General Schenck, but the order had already been sent to every county in Maryland, and if countermanded, must be followed by special messengers to prevent its issuance in the

[62] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 618; J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, VIII, 461; *Daily Gazette*, November 3, 1863; *Baltimore American*, November 2, 1863.

[63] *Appleton's*, III (1863), 618; Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 461; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, November 3, 1863; *Baltimore American*, November 2, 1863.

[64] Bradford to Lincoln, October 31, 1863. Executive Letter Book (Md.), pp. 474-475. See also *Official Records*, 2nd Series, III, 967-968; Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VIII, Document No. 215, p. 602; *Baltimore American*, November 3, 1863.

[65] Bradford to Johnson, November 1, 1863. Johnson MSS (Library of Congress). See also B. C. Steiner, " Reverdy Johnson Papers in the Library of Congress," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV (1920), 43-44; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 560-570.

various parts of the State. Two of the five provost marshals under General Schenck's control in Maryland were candidates for political office, and if the order were not countermanded, Bradford believed they would use it to their advantage. If the President had countermanded Schenck's order, Bradford wanted to know at once, for he himself had a Proclamation to issue concerning the subject.

Before Lincoln replied to Bradford's letter, and before Johnson heard from Lincoln, General Schenck issued General Orders, No. 53, to which Bradford had referred. Secretary of War Stanton had called Schenck to Washington on November 1 to see the President, and was told to " issue no order in respect to the election until you see him." [66] Schenck replied to Stanton: " I will go to see the President by next train, 5 p. m. today My order as to the election has already been issued. If it is revoked we lose the State. Can I see you first on arrival at Washington this evening? " [67]

Schenck's General Orders No. 53 directed: (1) that provost-marshals and other military officers should arrest disloyal persons " found at, or hanging about, or approaching any poll or place of election . . . "; (2) that provost marshals and military officers should support judges of election " in requiring an oath of allegiance to the United States as the test of citizenship of any one whose vote may be challenged on the ground that he is not loyal . . . "; [68] (3) that provost marshals and military officers should report to General Schenck all judges of the election who refused to require such an oath.[69] This order was directed chiefly against

[66] Stanton to Schenck, November 1, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 968.

[67] Schenck to Stanton, November 1, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 968.

[68] The oath to be given was as follows: " I do solemnly swear that I will support, protect and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States, against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; that I hereby pledge my allegiance, faith and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution, or law, of any State Convention, or State Legislature, to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will at all times yield a hearty and willing obedience to the Constitution and Government, and will not, either directly or indirectly, do any act in hostility to the same, either by taking up arms against them, or aiding, abetting, or countenancing those in arms against them; that, without permission from the lawful authority, I will have no communication, direct or indirect, with the States in insurrection against the United States, or with either of them, or with any person or persons within said insurrectionary states; and that I will in all things deport myself as a good and loyal citizen of the United States. This I do in good faith, with full determination, pledge and purpose to keep this, my sworn obligation, and without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever.

[69] *Official Record*, 1st series, XXIX, pt. 2, p. 394. See also *Baltimore American*,

the Eastern Shore where there had been less semblance of military authority than in other parts of the State. Martial law had been proclaimed on the Western Shore in June, 1863, but it had never been proclaimed on the Eastern Shore.[70]

Lincoln interviewed Schenck on the subject as prearranged, and then replied to Bradford's letter. He supported Schenck and set forth the reciprocal rights and obligations of individual voters on the one hand, and the government authorities on the other.[71] Lincoln said that he had given the matter careful attention and was assured by General Schenck that it was almost certain that violence would take place at the polls on election day unless provost guards prevented it. At some places Union voters would not vote or even run a ticket unless assured of protection. Lincoln said the test oath was essential if only loyal men were to vote. He did not think Bradford's assurance that nearly all the candidates were loyal was sufficient. " In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently rely on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false." He felt that Maryland, not having an oath of its own to require of disloyal voters, was to blame for the necessity of the military oath. He pointed out that keeping peace at the polls and preventing the outwardly disloyal from voting was not sufficient. All disloyal persons must be kept from voting. Lincoln caustically reminded Bradford that General Dix had aided Bradford's own election in 1861 by the very same tactics.

Lincoln was willing to compromise, however, if to do so would not interfere with principles he felt should be upheld. He, therefore, revoked the first of the three instructions in General Schenck's order, " not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military, being of necessity exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is too liable to abuse." [72] The other two instructions were allowed to stand.

November 2, 1863; *Appleton's*, III, 619; McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion*, p. 309.

[70] Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 562.

[71] Lincoln to Bradford, November 2, 1863, Executive Letter Book (Md.), pp. 475-476; *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 981-982; McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 310; *Baltimore American*, November 5, 1863.

[72] For the revoked provision Lincoln substituted the following: " That all provost-marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or

Before receiving Lincoln's letter, Bradford had prepared a proclamation to the citizens of Maryland and " especially to the Judges of Election on the subject of Schenck's order." Bradford resented the invasion of state rights and the onus placed upon any candidate who was not endorsed by the military regime. He considered the order a violation of law and civil rights. He advised the judges of election to let their own judgment " determine the right to vote of any person offering himself for that purpose . . . undeterred by any orders to provost-marshals to report them to headquarters. He pointed out that for over two years all the traitors and Southern sympathizers in the State could not have controlled, had they voted, a single State department, or have jeopardized the success of the Union. He emphasized the unwavering loyalty of Maryland to the Union and protested against the " intervention with the privileges of the Ballot Box and . . . offensive . . . discrimination against the rights of a loyal State." [73] He urged the judges to uphold the State laws and Constitution and to exercise their duties conscientiously, and protested that the State would support them.

Bradford's proclamation was set up in type Monday, November 2, ready for publication in the *Baltimore American* on the next day. Late Monday afternoon, Bradword received Lincoln's letter revoking the first part of Schenck's order. Bradford, therefore, published a supplement with his proclamation in which he noted Lincoln's action but said he could " perceive no . . . change in the general principle of the order " that merited any revision of his proclamation.[74]

General Schenck forbade the publication of Bradford's proclamation without his express permission,[75] and the *Baltimore American* withdrew the proclamation " regretting that such an order should have been received." [76] Schenck allowed the procla-

about the polls, whether offered by such persons as above described, or by any other person or persons whomsoever."

General Schenck accordingly issued a new order in line with the President's changes. McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[73] The Proclamation is found in Augustus Williamson Bradford, " Journal," November 2, 1863; McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310; *Baltimore American*, November 4, 1863; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, November 4, 1863.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Official Records,* 3rd Series, III, 983. Schenck sent a similar order to the American Telegraph Company, forbidding Bradford's proclamation to be telegraphed to any point. *Ibid.*

[76] *Baltimore American*, November 4, 1863.

mation to be published on November 4 in connection with his second order to the election judges.[77] He also issued an address, to the "Loyal People of Maryland," in which he said that Bradford's proclamation was designed to produce collision between the military power and the voters at the polls. He had not, therefore, allowed the proclamation to be circulated on the Eastern Shore, and had forbidden steamboats to carry it across the Bay. Schenck resented Bradford's inference that his General Orders were prompted by other than patriotic motives or official duty. This charge, he said, was "unworthy of reply and unworthy of him [Bradford]." Schenck maintained that there were many rebels at large in the State, and that he had been beseiged with letters from loyal citizens of Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore asking that a test oath be required.[78]

The Governor had given abundant evidence of his devotion to the Union cause. Now his authority was set aside and he was disparaged by what he considered illegal orders from a military commander. He was irked at this "undue interference" which implied a lack of confidence in his ability to supervise a fair election in Maryland. He thought the whole affair was an insult to the people of the State. Bradford furthermore resented Lincoln's observation that his own election in 1861 had been assured by military aid. He replied to this charge by asserting that the 15,000 majority vote he had received in 1861 could hardly be attributed to military support. Anyway, conditions in 1861 were quite different. At that time the State had a powerful secession element to contend with. General Dix's orders in 1861 had disfranchised only voters who had been or were in rebellion, or were aiding and abetting those in rebellion. Schenck's order, on the other hand, said Bradford, included everybody and even subjected election judges to military control.[79] He thought that Schenck would

[77] Schenck asked Lincoln on November 2 to send him copies of his correspondence with Bradford in order that he might know how to proceed in handling the Governor's proclamation. *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 982-983.

[78] *Ibid.*, 3rd Series, III, 988-990; McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Baltimore *Sun*, November 4, 1863.

[79] Bradford to Lincoln, November 3, 1863. Executive Letter Book (Md.), pp. 476-479; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, November 6, 1863; *Appleton's*, III (1863), 621-623.

General Dix upheld Bradford on these points. He said that military interference was not used for the same purpose in 1861 nor to the same extent as in 1863. He

regret his order since it created such widespread resentment in the State.[80]

The *Baltimore American* upheld Schenck while the Baltimore *Sun* and other Baltimore papers remained quiet. The *American* thought that Bradford had "committed a grave error" if he desired to let men vote who rejoiced over Union defeats, and mourned over Federal victories. "The offer of the government to permit them to vote on taking an oath of allegiance is a concession to disloyalty that we would rather be disposed to criticize." [81] Bradford, however, had much support for his proclamation. William H. Purnell, a conservative Union leader, wrote on November 4:

> Your conduct in relation to the election entitles you to the commendation of all good Union men. Your course would give us a Union party upon a firm and enduring basis. I have conversed with many good Union men and exemplary citizens and a very large majority of them disapprove of the treatment which you have received at the hands of Maj. Gen. Schenck, and this will be the universal verdict of time.
>
> I write this because I believe it is the duty of every citizen, however humble he may be, to bear testimony to the faithfulness and integrity of his rulers.[82]

The conflict between Bradford and Schenck [83] led to irregularity in prescribing the oath to voters. At some polls all were required to take it, at others, none. The people in general, although chafing under such requirements, were more orderly than might have been expected at the polls. One writer says that "after a careful weighing of the evidence . . . President Lincoln and General Schenck used the military merely to keep disloyal citizens from voting, a procedure which may partly be justified as

had allowed people to vote their true sentiments so long as rebellious persons were excluded. Dix to Bradford, November 7 and December 10, 1863. Bradford MSS.

[80] Schenck was soon to resign his duties as Military Commander of the Middle Department. *Sun*, November 23, 1863; *Baltimore American*, December 7, 1863.

[81] November 4, 1863.

[82] William H. Purnell to Bradford, November 4, 1863, Bradford MSS.

[83] Despite their differences on this question, Schenck and Bradford had high personal regard for each other. Schenck insisted that he had received countless appeals from prominent citizens, including Hicks, to apply a test oath and aid at the election in keeping control. See letter of Charles Findlay to Bradford, November 7, 1863. Bradford MSS. Hicks later denied that he had petitioned Schenck for military aid in the election of 1863. Hicks to Bradford, August 10, 1863, Bradford MSS.

a legitimate political move to strengthen . . . the government in time of war." [84] The *Baltimore American* upheld this view and agreed with Lincoln that since Maryland had provided "no remedy for its protection against the acts of treason as lately displayed at the polls," it had been necessary for the general government to do so.[85] General Schenck was not directly responsible for the election outrages, but he did contribute to them by his open espousal of the Unconditional Union ticket. He himself made political speeches and allowed his subordinates to do the same.[86]

A situation that caused more resentment than the General Orders of General Schenck developed when Lieutenant-Colonel C. C. Tevis issued an order at Chestertown urging all loyal voters to vote the "whole Government Ticket, upon the platform adopted by the Union League Convention [the Unconditional Union group]. None other is recognized by the Federal authorities as loyal and worthy of the support of any one who desires the peace and restoration of this Union." [87] This brazen order was suppressed by General Schenck and Colonel Tevis was placed under arrest. On November 6 he issued a statement explaining his action and requesting release. The request was granted, presumably without a trial, three days later by Schenck who explained that Tevis appeared "to have acted himself in good faith and from a sense of duty," but was misled by Captain John Frazier, Provost Marshal of the First Congressional District. Frazier was himself a candidate for Clerk of Court in Kent County, and thus one of the "Government Ticket." Schenck explained that Tevis and Frazier, prompted by "indiscreet or bad advisers," had overstepped their powers.[88]

Military authorities used various methods to control the polls throughout the State. On the Eastern Shore the tickets supporting

[84] W. S. Myers, *Maryland Constitution of 1864* (1901), p. 28.

[85] November 23, 1863.

[86] *Sun*, August 17, October 29, 1865; *Baltimore American*, October 9, 15, 16, 19, 23, 29, 1863.

[87] *Maryland House and Senate Documents* (1864), Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message. See also McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Governor Bradford, in explanation of his trouble with Schenck, prepared for the public a long statement, never issued, in which he said that as soon as Tevis issued his order all the printers in the vicinity were arrested in order that no one could print a reply to it. Bradford MSS. The "Government Ticket" was printed on yellow paper to distinguish it from the others.

[88] McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 311; *Baltimore American*, November 6, 10, 1863.

Crisfield were not allowed at all; at other places the army actively supported candidates for local office. General Lockwood, for instance, who was in charge of Somerset County and at the same time an Unconditional Union candidate for sheriff, announced that anyone who voted for him would not be molested. The Democrats shrewdly tricked him, however, by not placing his name on the ballot after promising to do so. At Princess Anne, in the same county, only one citizen was allowed to vote, the election judges were arrested and the polls closed. The judges were soon released, but voting was not resumed.[89] Military interference was more obnoxious in Kent County than anywhere else. Kent was a small county but had contributed more than its share of the State's quota of volunteers and drafted men. Nevertheless, on Monday, November 2, Provost Marshal Frazier arrested some of the leading men of the county, including James B. Ricaud, Union candidate for the State Senate; Jesse K. Hines, Union nominee for Clerk of Court and therefore Frazier's opponent; Colonel Edward Wilkens; Colonel S. W. Spencer, called by Bradford one of the most loyal Union men on the Eastern Shore; Charles Stanley, Thomas Baker, David A. Benjamin, George W. T. Perkins, John T. Dodd, James H. Plummer, and William B. Usilton. George Vickers and George B. Wescott, the latter a Union candidate for the House of Delegates, were slated for arrest, but escaped because they were in Baltimore at the time protesting to General Schenck of military abuses in Kent County. The arrested men were taken to Schenck's headquarters in Baltimore on the steamer *Nellie Pentz.* Schenck was surprised to see so many prisoners, stating that only a few arrests had been ordered for interference with Negro enlistment in Kent County.[90] He soon released them and they returned to Chestertown on Wednesday morning. But Frazier's purpose had been served. The men had been taken away at a time when their influence, as candidates or political leaders, could have been exercised. Their arrests also intimidated many of their friends who either voted for the Unconditional Union candidates or abstained from voting.[91] Many other outrages were

[89] *Maryland House and Senate Documents* (1864), Doc. A.

[90] See Bradford's unpublished account of this affair. Bradford MSS. See also the account in the *Chestertown News*, leading organ of the Unionists in Kent County. It was reprinted in the *Sun*, November 9, 1863.

[91] Frazier was defeated by Hines by 800 votes for Clerk of the Court, but the

perpetrated on the Eastern Shore and cases were reported in other parts of the State. None, however, were on so large a scale or conducted with such bold effrontery as those on the Eastern Shore, where General Schenck's original order and not Lincoln's modification was enforced.[92]

Great excitement prevailed on election day, especially in the First and Fifth Congressional Districts where Unconditional Union candidates were opposed for Congress. In the First District there was a dog fight between the Union incumbent, John W. Crisfield, and the Unconditional Unionist, John A. J. Creswell. In the Fifth District John G. Holland, the Unconditional Unionist, was opposed by Charles B. Calvert, the Union incumbent, and Benjamin G. Harris, the Democratic candidate.

Election day passed off quietly in Baltimore City, however. The gatherings at the voting places were generally smaller than at preceding elections. Military and police orders were posted prominently at precinct polls, but military guards were reported to have abstained from much interference with voters. Throughout the entire day and night drinking houses were kept closed.[93] The *Baltimore American* reported that " Tickets of all kinds were in abundance at the polls, and all loyal men voted their sentiments freely, so far as the choice of candidates was concerned." [94]

The Unconditional Union ticket scored an overwhelming victory on November 4. Goldsborough defeated Maffit for comptroller by a vote of 36,360 to 15,984, crushing him in Baltimore by a count of 10,545 to 367. The *Baltimore American* said that " Mr. Maffit, the representative of the slave-holding interest, was scarcely regarded as a candidate in the contest." [95] The party candidates for the legislature were selected chiefly on their loyalty to the Union and their attitude toward emancipation. The results gave the Unionist-Emancipation party absolute control of the

rest of the " Government Ticket " was elected. *Sun*, November 9, 1863, *Maryland House and Senate Documents* (1864), Doc. A.

[92] See letter of George Vickers to Bradford, November 8, 1863, describing outrages in Queen Anne's County. Executive Letter Book, pp. 485-487; *Official Records*, 2nd Series, VI, 584, 603, 607. A force of cavalry was sent to each Eastern Shore county to be used at the polls.

[93] *Sun*, November 5, 1863.

[94] November 5, 1863.

[95] *Ibid.*; *Appleton's*, III, 623, gives a slightly different vote. Goldsborough's majority was still 10,000 less than Bradford's in 1861.

legislature.[96] And, while the legislature was forbidden by the Constitution of 1851 to interfere with slavery, that body was expected to authorize a constitutional convention to act upon the question.

In the Congressional elections the Unconditional Unionist candidates were victorious in the first four districts. Webster, Davis, and Thomas were unopposed,[97] and Creswell polled a vote of 6,742 to 5,482 for Crisfield, the incumbent and a conservative Unionist. Benjamin G. Harris was elected to Congress from the Fifth District by a vote of 4,939. Holland, his Unconditional Union opponent, received 3,352 votes and Calvert, Conservative Unionist, 2,237.[98] The combined Unconditional Union and Union vote was only about half the total vote of the presidential election in 1860.[99] This drop was obviously due to the lack of opposition for many Union candidates and to the fact that many Southern sympathizers had either been prevented from voting or had left the State. It is estimated that one-third of those qualified to vote failed to do so in many districts.[100] Except on the Eastern Shore the Union majorities were large enough to give credence to the claim that the State was Unconditionally Unionist.

Governor Bradford, commenting upon the election in his message to the legislature, said:

> . . . Unless it be a fallacy to suppose that any rights whatever remain to such a State, or that any line whatever marks the limit of Federal power, a bolder stride across that line that power never made even in a Rebel State than it did here on the fourth of last November.
>
> A part of the Army which a generous people had supplied for a very different purpose, was on that day engaged in stifling the freedom of

[96] Results of the 1863 election:

Party Affiliation	Senate	House of Delegates
Union and Emancipationists	10	47
Union, pledged to convention	2	5
Union, unpledged	6 *	4
Democrats and Slavery	3	18
	21	74

* Most of the six unpledged Union members were expected to vote for a convention.

[97] Webster was given a vote of 7,736, Davis 6,200, and Thomas 13,462.

[98] *Appleton's*, III, 623.

[99] Maffit and Goldsborough together polled a vote of 52,244, while the vote of all Maryland in 1860 was 92,505.

[100] *Maryland House Documents* (1864), Doc. A. See also George Vickers to Bradford, November 9, 1863, Bradford MSS.

election in a faithful State, intimidating its sworn officers, violating the constitutional rights of its loyal citizens and obstructing the usual channels of communication between them and their Executive.[101]

It is doubtful if Creswell could have defeated Crisfield without military support, and Crisfield made plans at once to contest the election. He sought the help of Governor Bradford, asking him not to commission Creswell as Congressman so long as his seat was contested.[102] Bradford, however, certified on November 25 that Creswell had been elected as a Representative from the First District. Actually Bradford was sympathetic to Crisfield's position but did not think he had the right to go behind the election returns.[103] Creswell was under heavy fire from the conservative Union men, especially Reverdy Johnson. Judge Hugh L. Bond wrote to Creswell on January 19, 1864: "You must do something to answer Johnson's attacks. It will never do to let us labor under this continued fire. Go at him with the largest bore you have, endorse everything done (in the election) and the people will sustain you. . . . If you don't fight we are ruined."[104] Bond insisted that Creswell support the Lincoln administration's policy of emancipation in order that he might be sustained by the Unionists and the Federal authorities.

> . . . This rule of action, once established, will annihilate the Copper Head party, and neutralize nine tenths of the most vindictive Rebels. At first Copper Heads were opposed to negro enlistments; this . . . has at last with them subsided. . . . Rebels in Maryland confess they are willing for their government to use their slaves in the Army, but before they can be pacified entirely, the government must take out the free negroes, and the remaining useless material of women and children.
>
> Now is clear that Emancipation and Colonization will unite Copperheads with administration men, and will bring the Rebels to an alliance with us, and thus break down all potent opposition to our great administrative party.

[101] *Maryland House Documents* (1864), Doc. A.

[102] Crisfield to Bradford, November 14, 30, 1863, Bradford MSS.

[103] See Crisfield to Bradford, December 22, 1863, in which he thanks him for his support and praises his proclamation of November 2. Bradford MSS. Bradford was advised by Reverdy Johnson that his duties were merely ministerial and that the House of Delegates must consider the merits of Crisfield's case. *Maryland Constitution of 1864*, p. 29.

John R. Kerr, writing to Bradford on November 25, 1863, enclosed a clipping from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, headed: "The Maryland Election, A Political Rumor," which discussed the merits of the contested elections, Bradford MSS.

[104] Bond to Creswell, January 19, 1864. Creswell MSS. (L. of C.), Vol. 4, 748-9.

Let our motto be emancipation and colonization, a separation of the Races, the establishment of a colored nationality, and then we are at peace, at once and forever.[105]

The legislature of 1864 spent much time taking testimony and considering evidence in connection with contested elections. Defeated candidates from the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties were loath to acknowledge their defeats because of the part the Federal military force played in bringing them about. Governor Bradford was petitioned on all sides to help these disappointed candidates, who were conservative Unionists or Democrats. Bradford regretted the situation but said he was powerless. The House of Delegates was composed primarily of Unconditional Unionists, and gave no aid to the contestants.[106]

The Unionists were occupied in the latter days of 1863 and the early months of 1864 in making plans for the State convention which the legislature was expected to authoize. The conservative State Central Committee met on December 16 and indicated its acceptance of the results of the 1863 election by passing resolutions favoring such a convention.[107] The convention was also the main topic of interest at the Unconditional Union meeting held in Baltimore on January 21. The Unconditional Unionists also made plans for participation in a National Unconditional Union Convention.[108]

In his message to the legislature Governor Bradford recommended the calling of a convention to revise the constitution with particular reference to slavery. In accordance therewith the legislature passed an act for "taking the sense of the people of Maryland upon the expediency of calling a convention to frame a new constitution and form of government for the State."[109] The people approved the call and a convention met at Annapolis on April 27.[110] A new constitution was drawn up, the main provision

[105] Letter of John Frazier and other members of the Board of Enrollment for the First District of Maryland, to Creswell, January 20, 1864, Creswell MSS., IV, 756-757.

[106] *Maryland House Documents* (1864), Doc. A and others.

[107] *Sun*, December 17, 1863. The resolutions were prepared by Thomas Swann and John P. Kennedy.

[108] *Sun*, January 23, 1864.

[109] *Laws of Maryland* (1864), Chapter 5, pp. 7-12.

[110] Myers, *Maryland Constitution of 1864*, presents a full description of the convention proceedings. For the new constitution see F. N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions* (1909), III, 1741-1779.

of which freed all slaves in Maryland, effective November 1, 1864. Other provisions increased the governor's salary and changed his tenure from three to four years. Section 47 directed the legislature to require by law that the following take the oath of allegiance to the United States: presidents, directors, trustees, or agents of corporations chartered by Maryland; teachers, superintendents of public schools or other institutions of learning; attorneys at law; and jurors. This oath was severely restrictive and was aimed at Southern sympathizers. All who refused to take the oath were disfranchised and barred from office. Another section of the constitution stipulated that laws should be passed for the registration of election officials, for the disfranchisement of certain persons and for the disqualification of others from holding office.

(*To be continued.*)

THE CALVERT–STIER CORRESPONDENCE

Edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

(Continued from Volume XXXVIII, page 140, June, 1943)

The year 1809 opened a new chapter in the correspondence between Rosalie Stier Calvert, in Maryland, and her brother Jean Charles Stier, in Belgium.* Both writers started numbering their letters, in order to be able to know certainly whether their epistles were received. This was a practice often followed in the nineteenth century, especially when the correspondents were located far from each other. In the case of the Calvert-Stier communications, it is apparent that several letters from the sister in America did not reach their destination.

The first letter in the new series contains some interesting comments on the state of affairs in the United States immediately after James Madison became president. The characterization of Madison as "one of these wavering weak characters" is significant because that member of the so-called "Virginia dynasty" has come down in history as a man who did not take a strong stand in his handling of relations with England prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812. The Gilbert Stuart portraits of the Calvert family mentioned are those reproduced with the previous instalment of these letters and are now owned by Mrs. T. Morris Murray.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, April 1, 1809]

No. 1. Like you, dear Brother, I begin today to number my letters—a precaution we should have taken a long time ago. . . . Alas, we are only too well convinced that this government and the Federal Union cannot exist without a respectable navy, but our wretched President is, I fear, one of those wavering weak characters and although in reality an honest man, he will do as much harm as his predecessors. This country has reached a very alarming crisis. Torn by two parties, the eastern States jealous of the South; Congress enacting laws she is unable to enforce, and obliged to retract them afterwards only to substitute equally bad ones—our flag insulted at the same time by England and France, and all this the result of the administration of that wretched Jefferson.

* Translations of the letters have been deposited with the Maryland Historical Society by their owner, Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin, of Elkridge, Md., a great-granddaughter of Rosalie Stier.

. . . The painter Stuart is in Boston at this time. He painted my portrait and one of my husband three years ago. The resemblance is good but I am not content with mine, or I should have sent it to you, as it was for that I ordered it. I am entirely of your opinion as to the bringing up of children. Chance has undoubtedly much influence over their inclinations, and a clear-sighted and watchful mother can be most useful to them in keeping her eye on all their actions, and without antagonizing them, she can imperceptibly instruct them how to think and act rightly. Observing and studying their inclinations she may choose the career likely to make them most happy, for one lad brought up to be a lawyer might have been a second Linnaeus, while another following the plow murmurs over to himself dreamily the verse he read in the last almanac. I am so much obliged to you for your offer to introduce George to your world when he shall have reached the suitable age. I think several colleges north of Philadelphia are excellent; among others Princeton, Cambridge, etc. But I regret infinitely the lack of young girls' schools. That is beginning to worry me so much. Caroline is now nine years of age, and I know of no good school to which I could send her. I do not like the young girls' manners here. . . .

Five months later, Rosalie comments on the unrest then current in the country, applying it to her own particular situation. The Calverts were unable to sell their crops and so could not afford to hire a tutor for the children. The result was that Mrs. Calvert herself did the teaching, and it bored and confused her.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, September 1, 1809]

. . . What unexpected news we are receiving from the banks of the Danube and what a formidable fleet they are arming in England, and what—but I think it is better for us not to talk about politics at the distance we are from each other. One never knows what changes will have taken place before the three months' old letter arrives. Let us talk of ourselves. You will hardly believe in the light of my delay in replying that I re-read your letters very often and each time with renewed pleasure. How I envy you who are able to divert yourself so and turn your attention to your friends, while I am absorbed in business, in household squabblings, the worry of teaching children, etc., etc. All these vexations are doubled by the commercial obstacles which prevent our selling our harvests and consequently leave us without income. I was just about to engage a tutor who was quite what I wanted for my children, but I must put it off still for these reasons and continue to teach them myself, which not only bores me insufferably but by confining me still more closely to the house is injurious to my health, and confuses my brain so that I reason falsely often and have not good common sense. Have you not remarked that schoolmasters are always stupid people, like wanderers from another world or from a dead and gone century? . . .

That Rosalie Stier Calvert still retained fond feelings for her native land is evident from her remarks concerning the English invasion of the Low Countries. At the same time, she was an active participant in the party struggles in Maryland, at least once providing an ox for a campaign feast. She appreciated, too, the beauties of the American autumn.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, October 30, 1809]

. . . Some time ago the public papers announced that the English were going to attack the Island of Walcheren at the mouth of the Scheldt. That was very dreadful for me and today I see that an attack on Fort Lille is planned and perhaps on Anvers itself. Imagine what anxieties that is causing me, *cher ami*. I had hoped that amidst the extreme disorder prevailing over all Europe that town which holds all that is dear to me would be far enough from the theatre of the war to be out of danger. Assuredly you will not remain there! But so long a time must go by before I can have tidings of you. Then this immense horde of troops sent for the defence must be a great tax on our poor country and will your country estates not suffer? I wish you had all remained here where we shall be safe at least as long as England keeps her supremacy at sea. However we have our bickerings here too. The two parties (Democrats and Federals) grow more eager from day to day to know who will win. This year there will be a small majority against us in the Maryland Legislature. However we [the Federalists] triumphed in our county. My brother-in-law Edward C.,[26] being the most popular man, was obliged to enter the lists again for the public good and was elected as well as your old friend and our neighbor John C. Herbert,[27] who I suppose you know, married Miss Snowden, an heiress. My husband took a very active part in this election. It becomes more and more important for landed owners. It is absolutely necessary that we should smother party feuds which are formed here, or they would destroy us in the end. The other day you might have heard me giving orders for an entire ox to be roasted for the support of our cause. I hope and believe that we shall succeed still better next year.

You ask me, dear Brother, if Mr. C. is still as gay as when you knew him. I think not. He has generally more to attend to than he can possibly manage, and that is not conducive to gayety. He is always as affectionate and indulgent to me as he was. My four children are a boundless source of happiness to me. I anticipate great satisfaction from George, who promises well. Caroline is the prettiest girl of her age I have ever seen and it is the opinion of all who see her as well. She has not so easy

[26] Edward Henry Calvert (1766-1846) was a member of the House of Delegates for one term. He married Elizabeth Biscoe and was a vestryman of St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County.

[27] John Carlyle Herbert (1757-1846) served several terms before and after 1809. He married Mary Snowden of "Montpelier" and lived at "Walnut Grange," not far from the Calverts.

a character to govern as her brother's but as she has a good understanding and is capable of deep affection and sensibility, I hope to make her a very good girl with care. . . .

Do you still paint? I would like to send you a copy of the fine view I see from my window while I am writing. There is such a great variety of autumn foliage in one of the clumps of trees on the right, a very round maple tree seems gilded, beside it a hickory is entirely of deep red and a young magnolia of tender green, while a half dozen other trees of different tints are reflected in the water. It is the loveliest season in America.

The next letter, penned in the summer of 1810, describes in some detail the development of the region around the Capital City. Roads and bridges were under construction, and the comforts of life were easy to obtain, but Rosalie regrets the simplicity which had existed before the means of quick communication were introduced.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, July 23, 1810]

. . . Your sermon on the employment of time and the faults we inherit is indeed excellent, and I said Amen with a sigh. I am going to take your advice and do nothing more myself. Then I shall lose my reputation as one of the best housekeepers of Maryland, but I shall console myself by imagining I deserve it much more. I have had a tutor for my children for some time which is a great comfort, but *en revanche*, I have lost my nurse and cannot find a suitable new one. Here is my little Henry who requires all my care, but he is so good and dear that I cannot do enough for him. My husband does not agree with you, and says he cannot have anything done properly unless he looks after it himself, and I must allow that this is the last country in which to find a good agent. He has many duties, above all when we have workmen; then he is Director of the Bank of Washington, which takes a day every week; director of a manufacturing company in Georgetown, and principal agent of a road to be made between this place and Washington. Then he has to direct the work of our different plantations, one of which is eighteen miles from here, which takes a day and a half every fortnight. You have no idea how this country has improved since you left. We have all the luxury of Europe and have lost that simplicity which was worth far more. In the towns the change is astonishing. An excellent bridge has been made over the Potomac facing the Capitol, which shortens considerably the distance to Alexandria. That town does not prosper. Still the Bank gave a dividend this month of half a cent % more than last month.

The famous Stier collection of paintings packed away in the stable at "Riversdale," was the subject of comment by Rosalie to her brother. It appears that sale of the pictures was considered

several years before any definite action was taken.[28] It is interesting to note that, although the Calverts had lived at "Riversdale"

[28] The history of the Stier collection is told in Rembrandt Peale's "Reminiscences," published in *The Crayon* for September 19, 1855:

THE STIER GALLERY

In the notes of Sir Joseph Reynolds' journey through Belgium and Holland, he says, "Mr. Havern (Antwerp) has an admirable portrait by Rubens, known by the name of the *Chapeau de Paille*, from having on her head a hat and feathers, airily put on; it has wonderful transparence of color, as if seen in the open air; it is upon the whole a very striking portrait, but her breasts are as ill drawn, as they are finely colored." This short notice was sufficient to give the picture a widespread celebrity. It was afterwards purchased by Mr. Stier, an Antwerp banker, who having married a lady *lineally* descended from Rubens, possessed the pictures which decorated the mansion of that great artist. He also bought, from the cabinet of Mr. Peters, Rubens' *Stable Scene*, with the Prodigal Son and the Roman Charity, by the same artist; of which Reynolds says it is "in his very best manner. The woman who is suckling her father, is one of his most beautiful heads, and it has likewise great expression."

Travellers, subsequent to Sir Joshua, speak of Mr. Stier's Gallery as consisting of many excellent pictures. With his entire collection, he fled from the revolutionary broils of Belgium, and sought refuge and safety to his wealth in America. This collection remained *unboxed* at his residence during his long sojourn in Philadelphia, then but a young Athens in the Arts! He afterwards resided in Annapolis, where his chief enjoyment appeared to be the cultivation of gorgeous beds of tulips, according to the Holland taste.

I spent the winter of 1799 in that city, and Mr. Stier was so well pleased with my portraits that he engaged me to paint him, never having honored any other artist with that commission. As my painting room was small, he proposed to sit at his own house, as he wished to place before me three excellent portraits by Titian, Rubens and Vandyke, as objects of inspiration for a young artist.—a proposition which I received with great pleasure. As I was preparing my materials for the occasion, I was surprised by a visit from his son with a message "requesting that I would not *copy* any of the portraits which were to be placed before me." To this, I replied, "in that case I certainly shall not ask him." "But said the son, (mistaking my meaning) "you must promise that you will *not* copy them." I informed him that no human power could copy them by the force of memory, and as I could not *ask* him to lend them, I certainly should not make any attempt to imitate them—but hoped to make his father's portrait the better under their influence. The portraits were excellent, especially a magnificent head of Rubens in his old age, painted by Vandyke—the finest portrait by that artist that I ever saw.

The old gentleman was so well pleased with the effort I made that he volunteered to show me the greater part of his collection—and on the appointed evening, by the imperfect light of a single candle, and both of us shivering with cold, he carefully displayed to me his hoarded treasures. It was in vain I afterwards tried to induce him to show his entire collection to me in company with Chancellor Hanson, the only person in Annapolis of reputed taste in the Fine Arts.

Mr. Stier's only daughter—an elegant woman—was soon after married to Mr. Calvert of Bladensburg, who ten years after this called on me in Baltimore, with an open letter from his father-in-law in Antwerp, informing him that he now considered the country relieved from the dangers of war, and stipulating that if Mr. Calvert chose to retain the pictures, he was at liberty to do so, at a valuation of seventy thousand dollars; if not, on receipt of the pictures he would remit his daughter that sum. Mr. Calvert asked me if he ought to keep them. My answer, which I gave with much feeling, was, that if he retained them in our country, the Arts and the artists would be greatly his debtors; but my impression was, that if offered for sale, they would not bring him ten thousand dollars. He decided to

for approximately nine years, the title was still partly in the name of the brother who had returned to Europe.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, August 1810]

. . . You ask if I often look at the pictures. It would be a great diversion for me undoubtedly, but if they were unpacked a number of curious, troublesome people would be drawn here, for the reputation of these pictures is extreme from one end of America to the other, and then I am afraid of their getting spoiled. One can never be sure that some time the doorkey might not be forgotten in the lock. So they are still in the cases in which you packed them, with the exception of a dozen small ones, which were in the hall at Annapolis and which Papa packed separately. We have hung them in the drawing room, which is always shut up unless we give large dinners and that does not often happen. The cases are kept in the coach house, in which, where it is very high pitched, I had a platform made over the carriages where they are safe from any accident, and north of the house. It seems to me, however, a great shame to keep such a collection without deriving any benefit from it. Papa does not want it, I believe, nor does any other member of the family apparently. Would it not be better to send them to England, where you could sell them at a good price? I often see advertisements of sales of pictures in the London gazettes, and several days ago I read of one where a Rembrandt was sold for £5,000 sterling, two others for £3,000 and many others for lesser sums, but all for very high prices.

send them to Antwerp—before doing which I urged him to unpack the pictures and permit our artists and amateurs to see the collection. "Impossible!" replied Mr. Calvert; "Should I do so, Mr. Stier would disinherit his daughter!" But, when I represented the danger in which the pictures probably were, by damp and mice, and that it was his duty to *see* them returned in a *safe* condition, he finally consented, and agreed with me, that they should be opened and repacked, under the direction of Mr. King, artist of Washington; and whilst spread out to dry, they might then be seen as I desired. The privilege was soon made known, and for two weeks his mansion at Bladensburg was the hospitable rendezvous of numerous visitors of taste and education, from the different cities. Besides many Flemish paintings, the portraits I have mentioned, whole length by Vandyke, there were by Rubens, the Roman Daughter, the Stable Scene, with the Prodigal Son, and the renowned Chapeau de Paille—or rather Chapeau d'Espaigne." It was a new and pleasant sight to witness such an animated assemblage of artists and amateurs—members of Congress from the different States, merchants, lawyers, and country gentlemen—all engaged in discussing the merits of pictures and painters.

Some years after this a portion of the collection was to be sold at Antwerp, and two gentlemen of London (Mr. Smith, the celebrated picture dealer, was one of them) attended the sale, determined to buy the Chapeau, which they did for thirty-six thousand florins. They were censured by their friends for giving such an exorbitant price—but they showed their better knowledge, by exhibiting the picture, with the prospectus for an engraving of it. I have understood that the exhibition refunded the cost of the picture, and the beautiful mezzotint by Cozens was sufficiently remunerative. An excellent copy of it I have seen in the possession of Mr. Rollins of Boston—painted for him with the consent of Sir Robert Peel, who became the purchaser of the picture—but at what price I could never learn.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, November 1810]

. . . I should be greatly obliged if you would send me a deed for the land of Riversdale by the first person who comes over to us. Several years ago Papa sent me one, but it would not be valid here. In order to obviate the possibility of a mistake I will write in the English form exactly how it should be made out:

" Copy exactly William Stuart's deed to Jean Charles Stier but insert the name of Jean Charles Stier in the place of William Stuart's, and the name Rosalie Eugenia Stier in the place of J. C. Stier. This deed must be signed by Jean Charles Stier before two witnesses and in the presence of one person coming to America and will deliver it to R. E. Calvert who will get a judge of the court to take the acknowledgment of the person who brings it that he saw Jean Charles Stier sign it—J. C. Stier's wife making the same relinquishment before witnesses as in the other deed."

I am sorry to give you so much trouble, but I hope you will do it soon for me. As opportunities so rarely occur of sending the deed by a person who comes from Antwerp to America, it is important not to neglect one. We have gone to great expense over Riversdale and shall be obliged to continue doing so; therefore it is important for me to have an indisputably clear title.

Rosalie's interest in the course of events as the war with England came nearer is reflected by her absorption with public affairs during 1811. Her comments are somewhat prophetic, for she mentions the pro-British sentiment in New England which led finally to the abortive Hartford Convention.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, April, 1811]

. . . I have bought shares in the Bank of Washington with part of your January dividends, as you will see by the enclosed accounts. I believe this Bank to be one of the best there are, but you must tell me whenever possible how you wish me to act. I am very much afraid that we shall have a revolution here shortly and in that event all the banks as well as the national bonds will be very precarious. A voyage here would be nothing for you and would interest your wife, so come and see what we are doing. You will be astonished with the changes such a few years have wrought in customs as well as in breeding etc. We have advanced a whole century in five years' time. . . .

Since your last letter you have seen Mr. Barlow,[29] our Ambassador who intended to go to Antwerp. He will have given you undoubtedly long accounts of this country and of the great improvements which have been made during the last few years. You know he is of the party in power, so as to the government—But if he is sincere he can notwith-

[29] Joel Barlow (1754-1812) was appointed Minister to France in 1811 and directed to try to obtain from Napoleon better treatment of American commerce. He followed the Emperor to Poland, but fell ill and died there without having the interview which was the purpose of his trip.

standing give you many details about everything concerning America and especially financial matters does he understand very well. The charter for the Bank of North America will expire in three years and it is undecided whether it will be renewed. . . . You cannot conceive to what extent everything is in confusion in this country. The most clear-sighted people are bewildered. I fear it will end badly, for we are going from bad to worse.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, July 15, 1811]

. . . I cannot conceal from you that my fears as to the stability of our constitution augment every moment. I foresee an inevitable revolution and I fear its near approach. Do not think these idle crochets, the best informed and most weighty people are of my opinion, and it is that of the most prominent Senators and Members of Congress. A war with England which our government will provoke will be the prelude, and it is to be anticipated that the Eastern States will put themselves under the protection of that power. What will then become of the Southern States? They will either be torn asunder by anarchy or fall prey to Napoleon. In whatever way one regards the situation it presents an alarming aspect. Any revolution would annul the public debt; but I fear even if it were possible for the present state of affairs to continue, that even then, the debt would be endangered, for the party governing at present would not hesitate to pass the sponge over all their debts. But I will cease to act as ill-foreboding prophet!

The conflict with England had broken into actual warfare when Rosalie wrote her next letters to her brother, and she remarks that the blockade of American ports made outside communication nearly impossible. Sandwiched between piquant observations on the war are items of family news which trace the growth of the young Calverts. Of especial interest are the comments on financial matters apparently quite unusual for a matron of the period, but not so strange when it is remembered that Rosalie came of a family of merchants and was herself manager of her brother's money in America.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, February 24, 1813]

. . . At this time it is nearly impossible to send letters, and I begin this one without the least hope of being able to forward it for a long time. A fleet of two English ships of 74 cannon, and six frigates close the entry to the Chesapeake and Delaware and do not allow the smallest boat to pass. Meanwhile the country is torn asunder by numerous factions and in Congress there is open talk of dissolving the union of the States. In short I do not know how it will all end. . . . The moderation of the English is surprising. We have already taken three of their frigates, there is nothing to prevent their reducing all our ports to ashes (for there

is no one to defend them) and still they are content to blockade us. I will send you some clippings from our gazettes on the authenticity of which you may rely and which will give you some idea of our situation.

I do not know if I wrote to you that my youngest is a girl. She came into the world March 6th 1812 and is named after our dear departed mother, Marie Louise. She is very sweet, has begun to walk and is very healthy. Eugenie, aged six and a half, is the most lovable child imaginable. If I had the power of the old fairies I could find nothing to add to her person or to her character. George and Caroline have been in Philadelphia at French Schools since last November. It is very expensive for us, over $1,000; but I think one can give nothing better to one's children than a good education, and I would rather economize on everything else but that. I had tried two different tutors during two years, who did not satisfy me. Besides, they could not learn French nor dancing nor drawing here. They will return for one month vacation next September, and then we can tell what progress they have made, and whether it is desirable to keep them there. Recently I have resumed the amusing occupation of school mistress for Eugenie and Charles.[30] This makes me waste much time and patience. I go out very seldom and see very few people, which gives me leisure to be constantly with my children, and finally I believe I shall become a child myself!

[April 11, 1813]

. . . I send to Papa today some interesting extracts from our gazettes. I do not think our president was sincere in sending a minister to Russia; perhaps it was only a ruse to obtain money. The loan which was opened in the beginning of March (giving 6% and an annuity for 13 years of 1% had only a very moderate sum subscribed, because it was evident that if the war kept on the bonds would decrease to nothing. At present the Secretary of the Treasury has just contracted in Philadelphia on April 6th for the entire loan at 6% and an annuity of 1½% for 13 years. To obtain that he had to give his word that negotiations are to be opened immediately to settle our differences with England. . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, February 18, 1814]

. . . You ask me if my husband continues to make improvements in farming and I in my garden, etc. It is with much regret we have abandoned all work of that description for the last two years, which will not surprise you when you consider that we have in store the tobacco harvests of several years, and that since this abominable war with England, everything is double and triple the price, so that we must exercise the most scrupulous economy. . . .

The government needs a loan of thirty millions and they must give more interest to secure it. A National Bank is spoken of, and in short the public credit grows steadily worse. . . .

[30] Rosalie Eugenie Calvert was born October 19, 1806, married November 11, 1830, Charles Henry Carter (1802-92), nephew of General Robert E. Lee, and

Peace came again in 1815 and the means of communication across the ocean were easier. But Rosalie remained pessimistic as to the condition of the country and went so far as to predict that, "If the Democratic party continues in rule, a dissolution of the Union will be the result sooner or later."

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, March 10, 1815]

. . . It is very fortunate for this country that peace was concluded, as otherwise the national bonds, banks, etc., would have gone to nothing. If we could now only get rid of our democratic administration, and have a president of the Federal party, the United States would soon recover from the losses they have suffered. Meantime, we are taxed literally up to our eyes. We have been more fortunate, however, than many others. You will have foreseen when you heard of the astonishing fall in prices that I would not sell your bonds. Everything is in a state of constant fluctuation. If I cannot shortly secure bills on advantageous terms, I shall invest the balance to your credit in public bonds until you give me further orders. . . .

As soon as George is old enough and sufficiently advanced, I should very much like to send him to an English college. We were not satisfied with the school where he was and have placed him at another at Germantown near Philadelphia. Caroline is now with Madame Greland, with whom I am quite satisfied. I fear I shall soon have to send Eugenie there too. It is not possible to educate her here. . . .

The cessation of war was the cue for the shipment by Jean Charles Stier to his sister of various articles of household furnishings, and it is evident that Rosalie enjoyed immensely the receipt of the new cups, candelabra, and books; and a magic lantern provided great amusement for the children. At the same time, the Stier collection of paintings was taken out of storage, packed, and shipped to Europe, and America lost what might have been among its rarest art treasures.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, December 16, 1815]

I have just received, dear Brother, the two cases which came over in the "Neptune" which should have been here three months ago, but I have been deprived of them all the time. We are beginning to breathe naturally after our two days' ecstasy of admiration. Please accept, dear Brother, and pray express to your wife, our gratitude for the superb cups, the interesting architecture albums, and the annals of the musee. It is impossible to decide which cup is the most beautiful, for one insists that it is the green one and another is sure it is the blue, a third declares for

died May 6, 1845. Charles Benedict Calvert was born August 23, 1808, married June 6, 1839, Charlotte Augusta Norris (d. 1876), and died May 12, 1864.

the purple, another for the scarlet, and we cannot agree except that none of them could be more beautiful. The architectural drawings are very interesting for us, as they give us an idea of the masterpieces of all countries, and the annals of the musee are still more interesting since that beautiful collection has again been dispersed in returning the pictures to those from whom they have been taken.[31] These books should make the long evenings seem short. My children beg me to thank you heartily for the magic lantern. I had entirely forgotten how to manage it, and we could not succeed at first, but by dint of trials and endeavours to remember the time when you used to be showman for me, I succeeded to the great amusement of the children. I am very grateful to you for the trouble you took to procure the candelabra and lustres for me. They are very beautiful and arrived in perfect order. . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, June 2, 1816]

I cannot let the "Oscar" leave without writing a few lines to you, although I have only a few minutes, for packing the carts with the picture cases kept us busy until late at night and this morning they left for Baltimore. I hope you will receive them in good order. They had not been very well packed in Annapolis, for I found several quite detached from their cases. I flatter myself that they are right now. I followed all your directions. Two of the outer cases are not as strong as they should be, but we were so pressed for time that I should have risked missing this excellent opportunity if I had delayed a single day sending them from here. I hope the tarpaulin my husband ordered in Baltimore will effectually secure them against all dampness. . . . You wrote me to put tarpaulin inside the cases, but I did not venture to do so, for leaving here in June the heat might have caused the tar to run over the pictures. . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, November 7, 1816]

I received your letters, dear Brother, by the "Oscar" and please accept many thanks for the books you were so kind as to send for me. They are very interesting to me and will be still more so for my children. I re-read Racine and Corneille with much pleasure. I had never read Moliere nor De Lisle, so I will have all the more pleasure in learning to know them. I have heard several people here speak of Chateaubriand's work in terms of the highest eulogy. Allow me to repeat my thanks for the charming statues which arrived in perfect order. The Olympian victor is a little too *deshabille*, but what beautiful lines and expression! . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, January 3, 1817]

. . . Allow me to thank you again for the books which you had the kindness to send me. They will be very useful, especially for next winter when Caroline will be here. I have begun Chateaubriand. He is highly imaginative. Moliere makes me laugh often but I am nearly afraid of

[31] This probably refers to the art treasures gathered by Napoleon during his campaigns and later returned to their original locations.

taking up Racine, for once begun, I *cannot* put him down. I prefer him to anything I have ever read in French. . . .

There is a gap in the correspondence from 1817 to 1819, and then comes Rosalie's last letter to her brother, penned in the autumn of the latter year. The tone and content are more like the early epistles, with a pleasing mixture of business and personal affairs.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, September 19, 1819]

I received your letter of June 13th two days ago and I shall begin this by speaking of your business interests. Enclosed herewith are your accounts up to this date. The purchase of the letter of exchange has been deferred till September because the United States Bank did not want to draw on London sooner because of the great bank panic, and for the same reason it was difficult to procure a bill about which we could be sure. The affairs of the good banks are on the road to mending and I hope we will have no more of such difficulties. I will send you as soon as possible a butt of the best Madeira, but you do not tell me whether I should send it to Amsterdam or if it should be forwarded to Antwerp. It would be easy for me to send you some good wine from Baltimore, but it is seldom ships sail from that port to Antwerp and it will be more difficult to find good wine in Philadelphia. You do not say whether it should be insured or not. . . .

We are all well. I have all my children with me now, but George will go to the University at Cambridge near Boston the 1st of November. He is as tall as you. Caroline is still disengaged. None of our beaux has made the slightest impression on her heart up to now. I would not like to see her married before she is twenty-two or twenty-three. She is only nineteen now so she has an abundance of time to choose. I do not think it will be easy to please her; she exacts a great deal. When George shall have finished his education in three years from now, we shall send him to you for a year.

You ask me if we have improved Riversdale greatly. Indeed, not at all. My husband is a splendid farmer and planter, and has fine animals, cows, sheep, etc., but our place is only an American farm, and I fear very much it will continue to be such if you are not to aid us with your advice to beautify it. . . .

Rosalie Stier Calvert died early in 1821, and her brother wrote from Antwerp promising continued interest in the young family now partly grown. The two oldest children, Caroline Maria, twenty-one, and George Henry, eighteen, undertook to carry on their mother's correspondence with the uncle in Belgium.

(*To be concluded*)

LITERARY CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND, 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

Summary of Findings

This study was undertaken to survey literary culture in colonial Maryland during the eighteenth century. Colonial literary production was incidental to the main purpose of this analysis but wherever it has been encountered in private libraries it has been mentioned.

To counteract the effects of frontier life on the newly established church, the Reverend Thomas Bray began his novel experiment of placing books in the hands of Maryland clergymen and laymen at the close of the seventeenth century. His original plan was to furnish clergymen with parochial libraries for their own use as an incentive for coming to the colony and as a means of refreshing their religious outlook. The inventories of the early clergymen who enjoyed the use of these libraries reveal that the parochial libraries supplemented rather than supplanted the clergymen's private collections.

Bray's project was backed by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and received the support of many charitable people in England. His success with the parochial libraries encouraged him to broaden the scope of his experiment. Later, he interested Queen Anne in contributing to a provincial library at Annapolis which he called the Bibliotheca Annapolitana. During his short visit to the colony in 1700, his conviction was strengthened that small religious tracts and pamphlets were important in converting and holding the interest of laymen. His interesting plan for a series of tracts compiled by the Maryland clergy from standard devotional books was too ambitious for that period but during the following year he sent out more than eight laymen's libraries, each containing over seven hundred copies of important tracts. Dr. Bray and his Associates subsequently sent parochial, laymen's and provincial libraries to nearly all of the American colonies and to the West Indies. Although only a few of the many thousands of volumes he sent to the colonies still

remain, the three great charitable and missionary organizations which evolved from his original benefactions to Maryland are in existence today after more than two centuries of service to mankind.

The proportion of the population which owned books and the relative size of the private libraries were worked out from the inventories of estates and other available records. It is uncertain just what proportion of the free white population is represented in inventories of estates but they provide the best available cross section of the property owned by colonists, ranging from holdings of wealthy families such as the Dulanys to those of a man like Joseph Smith, the Baltimore County iron master, whose entire personal belongings amounted to only three pounds local currency. Sixty per cent of the four thousand inventories examined showed an ownership of books. In most cases, however, this represented a very small number of titles. Because of the uncertainty as to whether the inventories represent an accurate cross section of Maryland society it is not possible to claim that this percentage of book ownership extended throughout the whole population during the period in question. However, the comprehensive character of the Maryland inventory records examined leads one to inquire whether this proportion of book ownership can be far out of the way. There is no comparable survey of book ownership in the other colonies in the eighteenth century, and therefore it is not possible to make comparisons between Maryland and any other colony or section.

Three quarters of the private libraries mentioned in the inventories examined contained fewer than ten volumes or were described as comprising some undetermined number in a "parcel." An additional fifteen percent contained only the Bible, a Common Prayer or both. Fewer than three percent of the book collections described in the inventories contained over twenty volumes. It seems likely from this analysis of Maryland inventories that conclusions which have been drawn by students of colonial literary culture from certain large private libraries in New England and in Virginia may have to be, for those sections, considerably qualified by a further study of a more representative group including the smaller collections. To what degree these conclusions would be affected by the great number of sermons locally published in New England is still a matter to be studied.

In general, the percentage of religious books in small private libraries tended to be larger than that in the libraries containing over twenty volumes. Since it was found that twenty-three percent of the books in twenty-five larger libraries were on religion, it is obvious that at least one-quarter of the books owned in the colony were of a religious nature. This fact seems particularly significant since it helps to minimize the difference between the literary culture of New England and that of the Southern Colonies during the eighteenth century.

Practical books on law, medicine and science were found in many libraries. In a pioneer country where the legal and medical professions were not as yet fully developed it is not surprising to find many handbooks on these subjects written for the benefit of laymen. It is apparent from the libraries of the professional class, especially lawyers and doctors educated in the mother country, that through their reading they maintained close contact with the developments in their special fields of interest.

Books on history, biography and travel were particularly popular. Educated colonists read and enjoyed the numerous histories of England and the other countries of Europe. This interest is especially noticeable toward the close of the colonial period when concern over relations with the mother country stimulated the importation of political tracts in increasing quantities.

Many of the notable authors of English literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Fielding and others—were represented in colonial inventories, but the proportion of books of literature in the colonial libraries was not as high as has been indicated by studies in other colonies. Studies of literary culture in the southern colonies have been based almost exclusively on a small number of large private libraries of which, in some cases, nearly one-quarter of the titles were belles lettres. In the survey of the larger Maryland libraries it was found that about thirteen percent of the books were on literature. The classics were found in some libraries, but contrary to the generally accepted notion that the more cultivated colonists read their classics in the original, the records show translations were more common than the Greek and Latin texts.

An effort has been made in this study to present a fuller view of the reading interests of Marylanders in the eighteenth century

by selecting specific lawyers, clergymen, doctors, merchants and planters and by showing by means of the inventories of their libraries and their correspondence the part that books played in their lives. The extracts from the letterbooks of Stephen Bordley, Henry Callister and the two branches of the Carroll family are particularly valuable in giving a better insight into the actual use and appreciation of books.

The slow development of bookstores in Maryland was not due to a lack of interest in reading but to the peculiar economic conditions in the tobacco colony which retarded the growth of towns and fostered a direct trade with England. The first significant bookstore in the colony was started by William Rind in 1758, and by 1773 William Aikman was operating an important store at which he sold books with a special title-page containing his name in the imprint. Books were also frequently sold in the stores of general merchants.

The earliest recorded circulating library in the English colonies was projected by William Rind in Annapolis in 1762. The priority of this library is particularly significant because it was located in a colony where the population was widely dispersed and communication was slow and often unreliable. Although this ambitious undertaking ended in failure a few years later, there was a successful circulating library in Annapolis from 1773 until 1775 when William Aikman, the proprietor, was forced to flee because of his loyalist views. An abortive attempt was made to start a circulating library in Baltimore in 1773.

A survey of this character of the literary culture of any community or section of the country is a particularly interesting undertaking because through it is freshly revealed the life of the people in new depth and perspective. It is with a genuine feeling of satisfaction that in the present study of the Maryland scene, one finds a society in which book ownership, from which we deduce literary cuture in our definition of it, was customary rather than exceptional. The data presented in this study will be susceptible to further interpretation when similar investigations of eighteenth century conditions have been completed for the other colonies.

LIGHT ON THE FAMILY OF GOV. JOSIAS FENDALL

I. Will and Settlement of the Estate of Captain James Fendall, a Cousin

By Nannie Ball Nimmo

The political history of Capt. Josias Fendall, instigator of the Fendall Rebellion and Governor of Maryland from 1656 to 1660, is to be found in the *Archives of Maryland*. He lived in Charles County, which had been erected by him in May, 1656.[1] That he was married, and died intestate leaving issue, has appeared in print, but his kin in the Old Country have not been revealed.

Samuel Fendall, who in 1664 was witness to a letter produced in court by Capt. Josias Fendall, was far less prominent than his brother.[2] He was many times absent from the Province, sometimes no farther away than Virginia, but it is apparent that he kept in touch with his relatives abroad.

On May 26, 1665, he demanded land for transporting himself and three other persons into the Province, and this was not the only time that he received land for those whom he brought in.[3]

On the 8th of August, 1665, as Samuel Fendall, Gent., of Charles County, he purchased two tracts of land from Daniel Johnson, the one tract lying on the west side of the "Wicokomeo River" and the west side of Zachia Swamp, the other on the "mayne fresh at the head of Wicokomeo River" near the land of Capt. Josias Fendall.[4]

When in 1681 the popularity of Capt. Fendall had waned, when he had been arrested and imprisoned for opposition to the ruling power, Samuel Fendall was charged with having gone to Virginia to bring men to Maryland to help his brother escape. This charge he refuted, saying that he had gone to Virginia to have "a Shallop made to hyre to Shipps."[5]

On the 14th of October, 1682, Capt. John Stansby, Sheriff of

[1] *Archives*, Vol. LIII, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 549.
[3] Patent Book 7, f. 576.
[4] *Archives*, LIII, 590.
[5] *Archives*, XVII, 46.

Baltimore County, was ordered to permit Samuel Fendall of Charles County, or agent, to take up five or six horses and mares, that belonged to the said Fendall, which had strayed away several years before, and had been seen in these parts, some having the mark of Henry Hazlewood (whose widow had married Miles Gibson).[6]

It was in the year 1683 that Capt. James Fendall of Bright Helmstone (now Brighton) in Old England received a certificate for land which lay on the south side of the Choptank River at the head of a branch belonging to the Sassafras River, assigned to him by William Helmsley of Talbott County. The land is said to have been in Kent County. It was laid out for Capt. James Fendall and called Bright Helmston.[7]

On April 20, 1683, James Fendall, merchant, appointed Miles Gibson his attorney.[8]

Thomas Thurston, on the 13th of Dec., 1683, for 150 pounds, conveyed to Capt. James Fendall, mariner of Bright Helmston, Sussex, England, the 600-acre tract "Delph" on the west side of Delph Creek, near Rumley Marsh, and the same day Thomas Thurston conveyed to Miles Gibson the 115-acre tract, "Delph Island," on the north side of Rumley Creek.[9]

It was on the plantation "Delph" that Capt. James Fendall died, having made a will of strong human interest, found in Baltimore County Deeds, liber R M # H S. Vol. 2, f. 326, which reads as follows:

I James Fendall Sometime of Bright Helmstone in Sussex in the Kingdom of Old England Marryner but now of Baltimore County in the Province of Maryland . . . being Sick and Weake in body but sound in Mind and Memory . . . do make this my Last Will and Testament . . .

Item. I give and bequeath and my will is that my loving wife Elizabeth Fendall and her and my child whom I trust in the Lord is in being in the County of Corke in the Kingdom of Ireland Have and share all my Estate in Maryland both real and personal Together with all the profitts thereof Equally between them and Their heirs Forever, Some Legacies hereafter named Only Excepted but in Case of Mortalyty of One or both to say wife or child that then the Moyety or all of my Estate To Go to my Dear Mother Elizabeth Fendall Residing in Bright Helmstone aforesaid

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[7] Patent Book 21, f. 554.
[8] Baltimore Co. Deeds, Liber R M # H S; *Maryland Hist. Mag* XXXII, 286.
[9] *Ibid.*

and my Loving Kinsman James Fendall son of John Fendall my Elder Brother of Bright Helmstone and in Case of my Mothers death before this my will be to her known, I give her part or the other half of this my Estate unto My Kinswoman Mary Pocock my Sisters Daughter but in Case both my Wife and Child be alive my will is that then my Mother shall have Twenty Pounds Sterling out of this my Estate and if She my said Mother be dead then the Said Twenty Pounds to be given to Mary Pocoke, My Will is That my Searge Coat with plate buttons and a pair of New Leather britches and Jacket and my best perrywigs be as Soon as possibly may be and in my own barke Sent to My said wife to be given to my Father in law Named Richard Brocklesby as a Token of my Love The remainder of my apparrell and Linnen I give to my friend Samuel Fendall also I Will That the said Samuel Fendall have a Livelyhood upon this my plantation Called Delph So Long as it Shall be unsold That is to have Vituals and Liquors Such as my plantation will aforde Also to have a thousand pounds of tobacco yearly to help by him necessaryes During The said Time (provided the said Samuel use his Endeavour to preserve the Stock of Cattle and hoggs and horses and That he will accept thereof

Item I Give unto Robert Gibson Son of Miles Gibson a Legacy of five pounds Sterling alsoe I give and bequeath unto Sarah Gibson and Ann Gibson Daughters of Miles Gibson fifty Shillings a piece Which said Legacys to be paid Their Said Father in some Convenient Time after my decease . . .

Item My will is that my overseers and Trustees of this my Last will and Testament do cause my Vessel or Barke to be fitted for the Seas and Laded with my Tobacco and same so Laden to be sent to Corke There to be Delivered With her burthen to my said Wife as part of my Estate for the use aforesaid.

Item I do hereby Constitute and Appoint my Loving Friends Edward Bedell and John Walstone to be my Overseers and Trustees of This my Last will and Testament and Cause the Same to be brought to Probate and have the management of all My Estate keeping it Intire altogether upon my Plantation for the use aforesaid Also I do Impower my Said Overseers and Trustees to Sell my Plantation and what Belongeth unto it as Stock Servants Slaves as Soon as they Can Either for Moneys or Some Moneys or Some Tobaccos The Produce thereof and its Profitts in the mean Time to be Shipp As aforesaid as part of my Estate [?] and Likewise to Sell a Piece of Land Lying in Caecil County and Whereas I Desired my Friend and Nebour Miles Gibson to manage Some Business for me Between Philip Lynes Nehemiah Blackstone and Abraham Blagg and mySelf I refer it wholey to him and if he sees Occasion to Imploy an Attorney I impower him so to do to help manage The same without the help or anyways trouble of my Said Overseers or Trustees Haveing Given him the said Gibson Instructions from Under my hand in order to the management of the same A copy of this my Will to be Sent in my Barke this Next Spring Ensueing to my Wife and Another to my Brother John Fendall In witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this

31st of August 1689 A Codicil to this Will My Two Silver Spoons marked J. F.-E. B. and my Little Silver Cup to be Sent to my Wife

James Fendall (seal)

his
Wit. Mark Richardson Thomas + Low
mark
her
Timothy Heskar Jane ∃ Judd
mark

The bark seems not to have reached its destination, and the settlement of Capt. James Fendall's estate gave rise to much contention, for in 1692,

Came into Court Samuel Fendall of Baltimore County, Gent., and showed to the Judge here that Edward Beddle and John Walston, Overseers of the last will and testament of James Fendall, deceased, (who by virtue thereof administered in part the Estate of the said deceased) were themselves now lately dead, the said will of the said James and the administration of his Estate not yet fully executed and completed, And therefore hath said Samuel For and on behalf and in the right of Elizabeth Fendall his Kinswoman the widow and relict of the said James Fendall asked for Letters of administration de bonis of the sd deceased's Estate, that he might be thereby the better Enabled to Manage and look after the same for the sd widow according to her desire and request in her Letter to ye sd Samuel of the 12 of May, 1691, here produced.[10]

Corke the 12 of May 91

Loving Kinsman

I rece'd thine of the 23 of July 1690 an acct of my Dear Husbands will, being deceased September 1689 which I rec'd very Kindly and shall if lyes in my power be always to retalliate ye same

As my husband left thee upon the plantation Soe I do not doubt by thy care will be for my good, will pray continue and encourage the plantation that nothing may be out of order when I send which will be in some little time I hope, and then I may find that will greatly incline me to gratitude. I understand that John Fendall have employed one that is gone to Virginia, to dispose of my husbands concerns for his acct thinking Jas. is dead, wich proceedings I utterly forbid, and if any Such thing is done, it is his owne wrong and that he shall know, for altho my husband is dead I am not left destitute of those friends that will right me in this Case.

Thy Loving Kinswoman
Eliza ffendall

To Samu[l] ffendall
In May[ld]

[10] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 15a, p. 5.

The same year Samuel Fendall, administrator of the will of James Fendall, produced a Letter of Attorney reading in part as follows:

> Know all men by these presents that I John Fendall of Topsham in the County of Devon, Mariner, the onely Brother and heir of James Fendall late of Baltimore County, Maryland, deceased have made my Loving Couzin, Samuel Fendall of Baltimore County, aforesaid my true and lawful Attorney to sell my said Brothers plantation, goods . . . [dated] Oct. 4, 1692.[11]

And now that Samuel Fendall was ready to perform the administration of the unadministered part of James Fendall's estate, the daughters of Edward Beedle, namely, Martha, who as widow of George Goldsmith, had married John Hall, and Mary, the wife of George Utie, with Margaret, who as widow of John Walston, had married William Osbourne, wanted to claim the right as trustees, to have some part in the administration.[12]

On April 3, 1694, a suit was brought against Hall and his wife, Utie and his wife and Osbourne and his wife.[13] On the 10th of September, 1694, Samuel Fendall, administrator of the will of James Fendall appeared in court in connection with the proceedings.[14] On Sept. 17, 1694, John Hall, sheriff, stated: "We have a report that Samuel Fendall is dead, if he be pray I enter a Caveat that none administration issue out without further information from me, I being highest creditor." [15] No administration account on the estate of Samuel Fendall has come to light.

II. Joseph Growden Reports on Fendall Property

With Introduction by William B. Marye

The text of the following letter is quoted in part from an old copy, which was found among the Chew Papers, property of the Harford County Historical Society. The writer, Joseph Growden (as the name is commonly spelt) of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was a man who, for many years, was a member of the Council of

[11] *Ibid.*, 15e, f. 4.
[12] *Ibid.*, f. 5.
[13] *Ibid.*, 15e, f. 43.
[14] *Ibid.*, f. 126.
[15] *Ibid.*, f. 128.

that province, and was one time Speaker of the House of Burgesses. This letter tells the rather pathetic story of a young man wasting his patrimony, running up bills and boastfully giving himself out for older than he was. Edward Beedle (d. 1692) and John Wallston or Wallstone (d. 1693) were Justices, of the Quorum, and otherwise prominent men at the head of the Bay in what is now Harford County. William Osborne, who married Wallston's widow, was one of the very earliest settlers on Bush River. He was known as " Duke," from which fact it seems possible that he claimed to be related to the ducal family of Leeds, whose name was Osborne. All three men have many living descendants. Among the Archer Papers is a manuscript of the late eighteenth century, which gives a list of Edward Beedle's descendants who were then living, an indication of the esteem in which he was held.

Colonel George Wells (d. 1696), a high ranking military man and official, who, it seems, practiced medicine on the side, was the nabob of those parts at the time of his death. The amount of his bill makes one gasp, even at this late date, but, in fairness, it must be remembered that we are not told to what expense and trouble he was put in taking care of the deceased Fendall, and the Hon. Mr. Growden had a prejudice against the " ungodly " inhabitants of a " debauched " Maryland.

The land called Delph was taken up under that name by Francis Stockett. It has had many owners and at one time belonged to the Paca family. Delph lies on the Bay-side in Harford County, between the small creek called Delph Creek, which divides it from Gouldsmith's hall (" The Bay Farm ") and the marshes of Old Woman's Gut, on the north, and the head of Little Romney Creek (Port Royal Creek), and is the land next above Taylor's Island (Delph Island). The landing of Delph Farm was situated on Delph Creek in a grove of sweet gum trees of unusual size, and was a spot of great natural beauty. In 1917 the farm became part of the property of the Aberdeen Proving Ground, since when all of its landmarks have doubtless been effaced.

7

Philadelphia 25^{e} ber 1694

Dear Cousen Richard Brocklsby

Thy lres by Richd Russell and thy sonne my cousen Edwd I have received

and taking notice of their contents shall to the utmost of my ability answer thy request therein as being thereunto firmly obliged as well by my ffathers injunctions as allsoe by the naturall duty incumbent on me to serve my so dear & near relations they llre by Russell was detained from me 7 weeks after arrival in New Yorke & came not to my hand untill cousin Edward arrived from Barbadoes soone after which I went to New Yorke & demanded they money of Miles ffoster with reasonable allowance for damage, I found him very willing to take up his bill, more in respect and regard of his own credit than creditors good he would fein have put me off with the principall 55[l] alleging that he had soe satisfied other creditts (which indeed he had lately done to my knowledge for considerable sums) but I thought his pproposition to be very unjust & knowing him to be able gott him at length willing to pay the 55[l] with twenty pe advance for damage which was all I could doe . . . lesse would contest in lawe the event of which would be hazardous especially because the protest was not on the originall bill but on thy bill pat to Phil: fford the whole summe reduced unto the country money comes to 82-10*s* whereof Cous Edw[d] had received about 30 pounds of Miles before I sawe him the rest is in my hands which I shall take, [etc, etc.] I am now on my journey with cousin Edward (by Gods permission) for Maryland to see how matters will stand there touching ye estate of which wee can yett have title but that ye both trustees are dead ye ship sold to John Edmondson an old acquaintance of mine from whom I doubt we are like to have more words than money, Sam[ll] ffendall still on the plantation, it is well if the profits be not all spent in: in perusing the writings I had from thee, I find thy daught[e] died unpossessed of the estate of ffendall her husband which I fear may be of ill consequence to us, if . . . we must with cunning and knavish persons now in possession, I have consulted the best councell here and shall use my best endeavor . . . ence in ye management of the affair and I hope nothing . . . me to gett thy sonne in possession . . . I shall now give thee a large account how thy . . . in Maryland stands vizt I found old Samuell Fendall (a poore sorry . . . man) on the plantation called Delph (which was all ye . . . they sonne in law owned in Maryland) allowed administrator of . . . goods remained of James ffendall's estate unadministered by [Walston] and Beedle the inventory which he exhibited unto the comm[rs] amounting to about 120 lbs ste[rling] which constituted 3 negroes and 2 little negroe children vallued in 66[l] the rest ab[t] 20 head of cattle ab[t] such a number of hoggs . . . horse and a small number of poore household stuff all the rest of the moveable estate administered or rather destroyed by ye former trustees and ye estate brought indebted to their executors soe that they demand about 16 thousand wt of tobacco from it, ffendall he brings in an account of 16 thousand tobacco due him for his management one Coll: Geo Wells demanded 26[l] ste for James's sickness & physick in his house for about 3 weeks time, other debts charged to ye vallue of at least a thir [?] of tobacco several law suits depending and to say truely all in dis . . . , I found S. ffendall unwilling to give up ye possession of ye

plantation pretending to keep it for a Br's son to James in England who layd claime to it and by llre (which he shewed me) ordered him to manage it for him, but after awhile I had been there by argument & fair words ye best I could advance brought him to give it up peaceably then taking his accounts giving him an instrument under my hand & seale to keep him harmless from a bond he had given into the commissary or ordenaries office for ye true performance of his administrators in they daughter's right, I left thy son in possession of ye plantation desiring and cautioning him that he should doe nothing in his own name nor without my advice, though he then declared he was of age and since by many great asseverations says he is upwards of 21 years old, I would then have him to tarry there but a little while and when he had informed himself of ye state of all matters to follow me home with a full account and gave it as my opinion & advice to him that the best course to be taken was to sell off immediately ye negroes and ye stock leaving a couple of sowes [?] and a few swine on it and let it out to a tennant by which means ye debts might have been compounded for and mostly paid off for they would be mitigated and brought under . . . soe to leave things rest till thy advice was had concerning it . . . was a thing not to be thought of [here follow several lines which are partly illegible] . . . Maryland, a debauched place among ill and ungodly company . . . But as soon as I came from Maryland he gave himself out for 21 years of age and assumed to himself and in his own name to act and doe all business there and gave bills for 25[l] ste to Wells, which I believe might have been composed for much less it being a very unreasonable and unconscionable charge and for nine thousand weight of tob to ffendall whereby he brought other creditors upon him who arrested him in severall actions and though they could doe nothing to him (for he was neither adm[r] nor executor and in his nonage too) yett it was matter of scandall and disparagement to him, but that which is worst of all is, that instead of lessening ye debts on ye plantation by converting what was there to help pay it off, my cousen hath kept a chargeable ffamily there all winter spent the provisions drunk up all ye sider and contracted severall considerable debts, besides 30[l] bill drawn on thy friend Cooke in London, though I cautioned him before and begged him that he would by noe means draw one bill of exchange on thee but for what money he had occasion for he should have of me though I had not thy direct order for it but he told me he had order to draw on thee for two or three hundred pounds and would doe it as he had occasions and if I had not used my endeavour to prevent it I fear he would have troubled thee with much more though none of it should goe to do things absolutely necessary, I write this cosen with noe small regret and sorrow were it not I think I ought as a friend soe to do my pen should never be employed in such an information but ye necessity of ye case I think will apollogize for me . . . for now instead of making thee some return which I had great hopes to doe and very well might have done if thou hadst sent they letter of attorney 2 years since, I believe then I might have . . . at least 300 lbs out of that in Mary-

land and New York but now I am affrayd all I can scrape together will hardly make up the breach so as to pay off all ye debts and furnish Cous: Edward with necessaries to carry him home to thee, and keep ye land clear, for I have pd out this 52[1] od [sic] money received of Miles ffisher[?] for cloathes for they sonne and to ffendall some other necessary occasions . . . 30£ soe that there is little left considering what is to doe for cous: Edward must have some more being out of apparrell (except he could draw bill on thee, which I will not suffer if I can help it, presuming that it will not be pleasing unto thee) and ffendall (who is a poor man) must be paid speedily and on the plantation there is very little to be had but negroes and the cattle which will all be required and more if it were there to pay ye debts, I am speedyly designed to goe again to Maryland (if God will?) to compose and end as much as in me lyes all matters there after which I will give thee a more particular account which to doe now would be imperfect Edward tells of going home in this ship ye Bristoll [?] Merchant (but I am not certain whether he will or not) therefore was willing to send this by Nathaniel Pennick . . . Christopher Pennick formerly an inhabitant of Ireland; . . . as for the plantation which I had almost forgotten it is 6 or 7 hundred acres of land about 50 acres [cleared?] a good orchard, which will mostly bear 50 or 60 sometimes more barrels of cyder a year if well looked after, if it were to be sold I conceive it might yield 200 lbs hardly more, there is allsoe 100 acres of land in another county which is worth about twenty thousand tobacco ye business with Philip Line & C is an ill confused concern the Bills of Exchange the chief evidence of it being lost and Line a person troublesome enough to deale with, it now lyes in Chancery but what will be ye issue I can hardly judge I fear matter of cost and little gaine though in equity I think we have a very good action, but of it more hereafter. I am of opinion that a good action lyes against ye executors of Beedle and Walston for ye sloup Wm and Sarah but there wants better evidence to make out ye right to be in thee when thy . . . ffendall on his will seemingly declaring it his; I have not yet seen those men for they were from home at my being in Maryland, but I hope I shall doe pretty well with them (though their demands be high) I think I have severall advantages against them because . . . and their selling ye vessell without power soe to doe. I add little more but that I was very glad to hear from thee and my dear cousen thy wife and was all as glad to see my kinsman thy sonne having great desire to serve you according to my power & could with all my heart wish that I had not been interrupted by my cousen's indiscreet carriage as to what thou writest concerning my ffathers mind to purchase an estate with you I have noe mind to it, for though I have gone through much trouble here in this new settlement, yett I bless God my estate here is very considerable, and this country soe would be for many more that would adventure to come from any part of Europe to these parts for here is land enough and good and a quiet peacable government beyond all other and (I praise God for his mercy's) many a good honest hearted people here are, which enjoy his blessed providence; I have had 2 children

since our being here ye eldest a girle ab' ten years old and ye youngest a boy a little Laurence near one year old ye onely sone we have had in 23 years of our marriage, a very lovely thriving child my self and my wife and my elder daughter tender thee and dear Cous: Lovely our joint love and respects bidding you and yours farewell and I rest

Dear cousen
. . . Kinsman
Jose Growdon

Cous Edward is here and in good health. if hee goes I shall send thee a few lines
Jerusalem [?] in ye county of Bucks in Pennsylvania
10th 2 Mo., 1695

David Glasgow Farragut, Our First Admiral. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute [1943], 513 pp. $4.50.

This is the second and final volume of Professor Lewis' life of Farragut. The first volume, published in 1941, dealt with his hero from the time he became a midshipman in 1811 before completing his tenth year (and was thereafter addressed as "Mr." Farragut by the old tars before the mast!) up to the eve of the Civil War. This volume rounds out his last ten crowded years. He died in 1870.

Farragut was not a showy man and this is not a showy book, but the man in his unpretentious style was a hero, and the book does him justice. His fame rests upon two actions: the capture of New Orleans and the Battle of Mobile Bay. And what insignificant actions they seem today beside the tremendous and repeated engagements taking place in both hemispheres! The difference is only in scale of course. In 1943 as in 1862 the same combination of brains and dash is required to make the great naval officer. Farragut, simple and single-hearted man, had it. It seems that in 1862 after the long years of peace, dash was not too well appreciated among the officer personnel of our navy. There are several instances quoted in this book of under-officers who had the effrontery to assert that Farragut was unfit to command because he was *too* daring.

The Civil War Navy in general shows up in a pretty poor light. It is distressing to read of the timidity, the incapacity, the back-biting and the downright lying that prevailed among the officers. Of course there were good and brave officers, too; they did the best they could with what they had and kept their mouths shut, whereas the no-good ones spent their time writing letters to other officers and to the Secretary of the Navy in an endeavor to undermine better men than themselves. They never expected that these letters would get into print! Second-rate men always act thus. Luckily, in our vaster and more tightly-organized navy of today, their opportunities of doing harm are strictly curtailed.

In addition to his qualities as a commander, Farragut was a warm and lovable man, slow to suspect disloyalty, merciful towards weakness but like granite in the presence of disobedience. The author might have developed this side of his character a little further. On several occasions he speaks of Farragut's animation and his love of talk, but gives us no examples (that I can recall) of his intimate talk. Perhaps none have survived. His letters are warm enough, particularly those to his son and only child who was 44 years younger than himself. Farragut had no difficulty in bridging the gap of years and neither had the boy. Especially moving is the letter of Farragut to his wife, in which he explains why he sent the boy ashore when battle was impending. It was not proper, he explained, that the anxieties of a father should be added to those of the commander. It was of his country he was thinking, not himself.

In this volume Professor Lewis appears to have allowed himself a greater freedom of expression. He even makes a joke now and then. This is all to the good; it makes his book more readable without in the least damaging its authority. But after all, this is a work for the specialist rather than the general reader. The author's industry is astonishing. It is not likely that any additional information about Farragut will be dug up by his successors. But the uninformed reader may be confused by the mass of detail that is presented here and the many characters that come and go.

HULBERT FOOTNER.

The Free State of Maryland: A History of the State and Its People, 1634-1941. . . . By FREDERIC ARNOLD KUMMER. *Also Contemporary Maryland*, by FERDINAND C. LATROBE. Baltimore and Hopkinsville, Kentucky: Historical Record Association [1943]. 1578 pp. Published by subscription.

In these days when the Atlantic Charter has called to our attention the four freedoms, it is fitting to recall the fact that of all the colonies established by Great Britain in the New World the Province of Maryland symbolized a region where there was freedom from want, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom from fear. Frederick Arnold Kummer and Ferdinand C. Latrobe have thus rightly named their history, *The Free State of Maryland, A History of the State and Its People, 1634-1941.* The work comprises four volumes. The print is clear and legible and the format excellent.

Mr. Kummer has divided his contribution to the history of Maryland into four parts: Part I, "The Colonial Period"; Part II, "The Revolutionary Period"; Part III, "The Civil War Period," and Part IV, "Maryland in the Twentieth Century." There are forty-five chapters and 343 pages devoted to his historical account. Mr. Latrobe, as supervising editor, has called his division of the book "Contemporary Maryland." This is a compilation of short articles by various authors. Included in Volume I is "Maryland Law," by the late Carroll T. Bond, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, Maryland; "The Municipal Museum," by Richard Carl Medford; "Inland Fishing," by Frank L. Bentz, Chief Clerk, State Game and Inland Fish Commission; and "Musicians and Music," by Frederick R. Huber, Municipal Director of Music, Baltimore. In Volume II pages 369 to 439 contain other articles on contemporary activities in the State. The biographical sketches which fill part of Volume II and the remaining volumes indicate the important part played by Maryland citizens past and present in the State's history.

The style is pleasing for popular reading. It seems to be chiefly a compilation from other histories. No footnote references are given and few references used to source materials previously undiscovered so the work can hardly be considered an important contribution to the field of his-

torical literature. As stated in the opening Announcement, the author and publisher make no claims to originality, as the aim is "to place [the facts] all in one edition, thereby giving the reader a complete library on historical happenings in Maryland, with only the flip of the page necessary to change the story before him." This purpose is perhaps fulfilled and thus justifies the publication as an introduction to the biographical sketches which follow.

It would be a help in referring to the facts given if Volume I had an index for that would enable even a casual reader to quickly find the facts which are stated in an interesting fashion. It will be impracticable in a short review to comment on many of the chapters, but it is impossible to treat the causes of the American Revolution in one paragraph as the author has done. In a book with the title of *The Free State* more time should have been devoted to these causes, for today they are still uppermost in men's minds. The State Constitution for the same reason deserves more attention.

The chapters on the War of 1812 are more amply treated and give a brief but excellent account of the part played by the State in that conflict. In the chapter on Civil "Wartime Problems of a Border State" the author greatly underestimates the importance of the preservation of the Union in the struggle between the states. Had this not been the leading issue and had the Union not been preserved, who knows but that our land might not have suffered the evils of a disrupted Europe. It is also not shown that the emigrants who came from Europe and who sided with the North in the conflict did so because they, as free laborers, did not want to compete with slave labor. The author is clearly biased in his opinion concerning the conflict so disastrous to a border state and does not look at the matter from a historical viewpoint. He does, however, draw the correct conclusion regarding the evils resulting from the death of Lincoln and explains the motives back of the assassination clearly.

Mr. Kummer's accounts of the history of the various counties make one wish that time and space had permitted their expansion. One could spend a number of pleasant hours perusing the pages of *The Free State of Maryland* and feel well rewarded for the effort.

ESTHER M. DOLE

Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland

Six Quaker Clockmakers [1682-1813]. By EDWARD E. CHANDLEE. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943. xvii, 260 pp. $10.00

The study of a family group of capable early American craftsmen is bound to bring to light not only the peculiar skill of the workers themselves but the cultural background in which they worked and which they helped to mould. Mr. Chandlee in his carefully compiled and beautifully illustrated book tells us of the activities as clockmakers over a period of a century and a half of no less than eight members of the Chandlee family,

who for five generations practiced clockmaking either in Philadelphia, in Nottingham and Baltimore, Maryland, in Wilmington, Delaware, or in Winchester, Virginia. The story, which centers more especially in eighteenth century Nottingham, near the Pennsylvania-Maryland line, begins with Quaker Abel Cotley who settled in Philadelphia in 1682 and taught his trade to his Quaker son-in-law, Benjamin Chandlee. The latter moved to Nottingham Township, then in Chester County, Pennsylvania, although his clockmaking descendants were later to find themselves south of the Mason and Dixon Line and residents of Cecil County, Maryland, as the result of the settlement of the long standing boundary dispute between Lord Baltimore and the Penns. A Benjamin II continued to make clocks in Cecil County near Nottingham, as did the latter's three sons in the fourth generation—Goldsmith, Ellis, and Isaac Chandlee. Goldsmith afterwards moved to Winchester, Virginia, and carried on his trade there. Benjamin III in the fifth generation was a clockmaker in Baltimore. This is indeed an extraordinary record in hereditary craftsmanship which more than equals that of the silversmithing Bruff family of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

The author's success in bringing to light interesting biographical details about the various clockmaking members of the Chandlee family has only been exceeded by his achievement in tracing the very numerous examples of the work of these craftsmen which are so well brought out in the admirable gravure plates. Illustrations are given of some sixty-eight tall clocks, with the Chandlee name on the dial, which the author has found, forty of them owned by descendants of the original purchasers. These clocks with few exceptions are housed in well designed walnut cases, probably made by neighboring cabinet makers outside the Chandlee shops. The brass works are of Chandlee workmanship, as are certainly, for the first three generations, the exceedingly well designed brass dials. For a later period, however, imported painted iron dials were used with painted dial decorations which were doubtless added by local artists for the Chandlees. Illustrations are also given of surveyors' compasses, sun dials, brass inkwells, and candlestands which bear the Chandlee name.

This book is of especial interest to Marylanders since most of the eighteenth century work of this clockmaking family was done at Nottingham, Cecil County. A great many of these clocks are still in the hands of the owners living in that neighborhood. The author and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, under whose auspices this book appears, are to be congratulated not only upon the scholarly research which it reveals but upon the format in which it appears. It is to be hoped that it is but the forerunner of other books, bearing the imprint of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, upon the painters and craftsmen of Pennsylvania.

J. Hall Pleasants

Maryland During and After the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study. By PHILIP A. CROWL. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 1.] Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. 185 pp. $1.75.

Maryland history during the Revolution and the period preceding the establishment of the Federal Government has never received proper treatment. Mr. Crowl has filled the gap with his study of "the interplay of events, institutions, interests, and personalities" during the years from the formation of the State government in 1776 to the ratification of the Constitution in 1788. His survey of men, classes, and movements not only throws light on a hitherto obscure part of state history, but it also provides a study which must remain the basis of all future work on the subject.

The author begins with a discussion of the use by previous writers of the word "critical" to describe the period between the close of the Revolution and the adoption of the Federal Constitution and remarks that in Maryland, at least, there was little to indicate that conditions were chaotic at that time. He says that the fights which featured the sessions of the legislature and were prominent in the press did reflect conflicts of interests, but did not indicate a "clear-cut division either of well-defined economic classes or of geographic sections" such as apparently existed in other states. In Maryland, the Revolutionary movement was largely the work of the same group which had led the opposition to the Proprietors in the Provincial Assembly. The leaders of that opposition were the same men who later occupied the principal posts in all the gatherings of the Revolutionary era and who took over the reins of government after the State became a separate unit. Mr. Crowl analyzes the careers of certain representative figures and shows that the group which controlled Maryland consisted of men of property—lawyers, merchants, and landed gentry. They were allied to each other by common interests and, in many cases, by blood relationships. There was no real democratization of the government of Maryland after the break with England.

The study takes up in succession the questions of the confiscation and sale of British property, the collection of pre-war British debts, and the struggle for paper money and debtor relief. Mr. Crowl considers in detail the interests of the various men in each of these matters and shows that the attitude of some, such as Samuel Chase and Captain Charles Ridgely, was influenced directly by their own purchases of property or by their debts owed to British merchants. Further, he points out that in Maryland, unlike other states, "the debtor and creditor interests were not clearly geographically segregated." The controversy over the adoption of the Federal Constitution was a continuation of the previous disputes. Generally speaking, the men who opposed ratification were the same who had favored paper money; and there is good documentation of the ownership by men on both sides of public securities and of slaves. The reader gets the impression that the majority in Maryland were swayed by personal interests. The description of the ratifying convention at Annapolis brings

out the importance of its action on the result in Virginia, and, incidentally, the vital part played by George Washington in procuring Maryland's assent.

This study is based on a thorough examination of all classes of sources, particularly official manuscripts at the Hall of Records and family papers at the Maryland Historical Society. It is a valuable work, and small errors—such as transposing the location of "Wye House" and "Wye Hall" (pp. 24, 27), assigning Dr. Fred Ridgely to the "Hampton" family of which he was not a member (p.48), and calling Dr. Lyde Goodwin "Lyle" (p. 53)—may be forgiven. The analysis of family relationships in "Maryland's governing class" (pp. 139-41) is enough to arouse the admiration of the most exacting genealogist.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion. Edited, with an Introduction, by HUNTER DICKINSON FARISH. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1943. xlv, 323 pp. $4.00.

When Philip Vickers Fithian was twenty-six years old, and a Princeton graduate, he went to Virginia to be tutor to the children of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall. This was in October, 1773, and he stayed at Nomini until October, 1774. During that time he kept a journal day by day, and he wrote many letters. Most of the journal and some of the letters were published in 1900 by the Princeton Press. Now journal and letters are republished by Colonial Williamsburg in an exceedingly attractive form, with more attention to Virginia than the earlier edition showed.

Fithian was born, reared and educated in New Jersey, and was preparing himself for the Presbyterian ministry which he later entered. His whole background was worlds apart from the lordly Virginia into which he went, but he was able to adjust himself to it, to see it sympathetically, and to love it. When, in October, 1774, he turned his horse's head toward New Jersey, he says in his Journal, "left Home." His place in the Carter household gave him a chance to see and to take part in all that went on in the Northern Neck, and he did not, happily for us who read his journal, confine himself to the school room. As he says to his friend John Peck, who succeeded him at Nomini, he made it a rule to go wherever Mr. Carter suggested he go, and "stay, and talk, & drink, & ride to as great excess as" Mr. Carter did. He went to church and to dances, to fish feasts and sailing parties and dinners and to county courts. He talked with Mr. Carter about plantation business, and with Mrs. Carter about managing the garden and the household and the children. For Mrs. Carter he had a respect and an admiration not short of reverence. The Carter family and all their friends liked him, too, and made all sorts of plans to find him a wife, and get him to settle down in Virginia. But his course had been laid out toward the ministry, and the girl he loved was back there in New Jersey; so back he went.

For editing and publishing this new edition of Fithian, Colonial Williamsburg deserves praise and real thanks. There are two or three errors, nonetheless, and they must be pointed out. Mrs. Robert Carter's name was Frances Tasker, not Frances Anne Tasker. It is true that, according to Fithian, she once gave her name as Ann Tasker Carter (p. 81), but, weighing that one reference against all the other contemporary ones, it must be concluded that Fithian wrote her daughter's name instead of her own. The earliest reference to her as Frances Ann goes no further back than 1899. This mistake is the more annoying in that it had already been called to the editor's attention before the book went to press. Another mistake is the description of Anne (Tasker) Ogle, Rebecca (Tasker) Dulany, and Elizabeth (Tasker) Lowndes as sisters of Anne (Bladen) Tasker, and not as her daughters. The portrait of Robert Carter as a young man is incorrectly ascribed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, though Reynolds was out of England during the entire period of Carter's stay there, and so had no studio at all. The portrait, according to the Huntington Library, was probably done by Thomas Hudson, teacher of Reynolds. But these errors, though real, are more than offset by the benefit derived from publication of the Journal and letters. For one feature of this edition the editor deserves the highest possible praise. The letters are not gathered together in a body at the end of the journal. Instead, each letter is inserted into the Journal at the place where its date indicates it belongs, and letters and Journal form one smooth, coordinated whole. The temptation to quote bits from here and there throughout must be sternly resisted, but the book deserves to be read entire.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

The First Century of Flight in America: An Introductory Survey. By JEREMIAH MILBANK, JR. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1943. 248 pp. $2.75.

This book is interesting and informative not only to persons interested in the history of air navigation but to the general reader as well. But it is particularly interesting to Marylanders, for it describes in some detail several events in the early history of Baltimore which indicate a surprisingly large interest in aerial travel on the part of Baltimoreans more than a century ago and even as far back as 150 years ago.

How many Marylanders, for example, are aware that the first authenticated balloon ascension by a human on the North American continent occurred in Baltimore? This incident, of no little historical importance, occurred on June 24, 1784, and the intrepid aeronaut was Edward Warren, a boy only thirteen years old. Mr. Milbank tells how young Warren ascended into the blue in a small Montgolfier balloon constructed by Peter Carnes of Blagdensburg (sic) Maryland. Scene of the epochal ascension was "a field near Baltimore," and Warren became the first American ever to ascend into the air because the balloon, only 30 feet high and 35 feet in diameter, apparently was too small to lift its maker, Carnes.

Fifty years later, in 1834, aeronauts both professional and amateur, had become so active in Baltimore that Mr. Milbank says "citizens even began to object to Baltimore's excessive air-mindedness." Baltimore newspapers engaged in a species of feud over whether balloon ascensions were "dangerous and obnoxious pastimes" or whether they were leading toward a new age of aerial navigation. Despite the objections, experiments in Baltimore continued and in 1838 one John H. Pennington undertook to patent a flying machine powered by a small steam engine and driven by propellers resembling windmill wheels. Mr. Milbank points out that "luckily for Pennington's physical well-being he was dissuaded from completion of his machine."

Interesting though those local allusions are, they constitute only a very small part of Mr. Milbank's admirable book. In it the author outlines, succinctly and clearly, the beginnings of aeronautical development in this country, tells of the slow but steady progress made by daring and ingenious inventors in pushing the conquest of the air, and ends his account on the eve of the period when aviation was just about to supplant aeronautics as a mode of travel—and of warfare.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

Maryland: The State and Its Government. By HARRY BARD. New York: Oxford Book Co., 1943. 122 pp. 80 cents.

"Attainment of the democratic ideal assumes an intelligent participating citizenry. Effective cooperation is possible only if there is understanding of the goals we seek and desire to attain. And though our first allegiance must be to the Nation, nevertheless we must also be active and devoted citizens of State, county, and municipality. To further such activity is the aim and intent of this little volume."

This unpretentious work by the supervisor in history and civics of the public high schools of Baltimore is a well-rounded summary of the government of State and City—the first fresh work in this field since Dr. Ella Lonn's text for use of new women voters published in 1921.

Despite its brevity, the book covers most of the activities of the grand divisions of our government. In clear and simple language are set forth the administrative structures and the functions of legislatures and courts. There are even brief sections on geography, climate and the general history of the State. If one wishes to know, for instance, the provisions of our much criticized Declaration of Intentions law, the regulations in controlling industry, business, the trades and professions, or what the State does for the needy and the handicapped, the answers are found here. If not all of them will satisfy the adult student, at least the teacher in the high school as well as his pupils will find the outline needed. The latest changes by the Legislature have been included.

Mr. Bard has provided a greatly needed civics book for school and library. Unfortunately the index leaves much to be desired.

JAMES W. FOSTER

John Bach McMaster, American Historian. By ERIC GOLDMAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. 194 pp. $2.00.

This short, neat biography of John Bach McMaster was written with the "generous co-operation of his family." That sounds like an official work. But enquiry reveals that this is not true, and even a hasty reading proves that it could not have been so. No family, ordering a biography of its most prominent member, would include the fact that a group of his graduate students once went to him to talk about his "faults as a teacher." The honesty of the book—if not the sensitiveness of its subject—is shown by the quite thorough "deadly parallel" comparison of parts of the *History of the People of the United States* with works used by the author in its preparation, and used without benefit of quotation marks or reference. One appendix analyzes parts of the *History*; one lists McMaster's printed works—there are near a hundred of them; the last is a bibliography. Dr. Goldman has done a conscientious job; if the picture the book presents is not an interesting or a significant one, that is not the biographer's fault.

E. M.

Clarke County, a Daughter of Frederick. A History of Early Families and Homes. By ROSE M. E. MACDONALD. Berryville, Va.: Blue Ridge Press, 1943. [74] pp. $1.80.

In this brochure are to be found notes relating to the famous military figures of Clarke County in earlier wars, the celebrated estates with which it abounds, the well-known families, and the churches, shops, and mills which dot the area. Miss MacDonald has drawn on court records as well as on available genealogical materials. The names of Lees, Pages, Nelsons, Burwells, Washingtons, Byrds and Carters abundantly sprinkle these pages.

J. W. F.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text. . . . [By JULIAN P. BOYD. Foreword by ARCHIBALD MACLEISH]. Washington: Library of Congress, 1943. 36 pp., 10 plates. Gift of publisher.

The St. Mary's City "Castle," Predecessor of the Williamsburg "Palace." By HENRY C. FORMAN. Reprinted from *William and Mary College Quarterly,* April, 1942. 8 pp. Gift of author.

Captain Ridgely's London Commerce, 1757-1774. By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., Reprinted from *Americana,* April, 1943. 45 pp. Gift of author.

Maryland Women. Vol. III. By MARGIE H. LUCKETT. Baltimore: The author, 1942. 444 pp.

Jews in American Wars. By J. GEORGE FREDMAN and LOUIS A. FALK. New York: Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. 1942. 60 pp. $1.25. Gift of Maryland Free State Post, No. 167, Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Vol. VI, 1793-1808. Edited by ADELAIDE L. FRIES. Raleigh: State Dept. of Archives and History, 1943. Received on exchange.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Washington County Historical Society

On July 4th the Society had planned to observe with an elaborate celebration the 200th anniversary of the founding of Hagerstown. Because of gasoline curtailment, however, activities were confined to memorial services at Zion Reformed Church where Mayor Sweeney, in the name of the Washington County Historical Society, placed a wreath on the grave of Jonathan Hager, Founder.

The Society is now endeavoring to promote interest in preservation of the Founder's original home. This building, situated on unimproved land, adjoins the City Park.

The Society's most recent achievement was the naming of the aircraft carrier "U. S. S. Antietam." It is proposed that Washington County school-children present the dress colors; the Society present the date-plate, bearing, in addition to historical data, the inscription, "Washington County Historical Society, Donor."

Virginia Magazine—Our neighbor to the south and elder sister, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, with the issue for July, 1943, observed her fiftieth anniversary. The feature of the number is a catalog of the publications of the Virginia Historical Society since its founding in 1833, with a list of the contents of each volume of the Magazine from the first issue in 1894 to the present.

Banks Family—Should like to know something of the ancestry of Joshua Banks, who married a Richardson of Washington, D. C. He was probably connected with the Banks family who lived near Reisterstown, Md.

Mrs. Robert R. Hill,
12 East 97th St., New York City.

Barrett—Can any one furnish the dates of Alexander Barrett's birth, marriage and death? He and his wife, Elizabeth, were living in Frederick County, Md., in 1753. His parents were Christian Henry and John Barrett, Jr. Grandparents were Ann and John Barrett; and Isabel and John Henry of Prince George's County, Md. Who were the parents of Ann Barrett? In her will, dated May 6, 1722, she leaves personalty to Ann Hill and to Mr. Clement Hill the residue of her estate. Who were the parents of Isabel Henry?

Mrs. B. S. Burton,
104 Georgia Ave., Valdosta, Ga.

Ogle Family—Mr. Thomas Ogle Clark, of Baltimore, writing in the *Baltimore Sun*, of January 1905, stated that the original Delaware Ogle, who was named Thomas, was a brother of Samuel Ogle, governor of Maryland, and came to America with the latter. In order to save other Ogle family searchers the trouble that this statement has caused the writer, a correction is herewith presented.

John Ogle, soldier of New Castle, was the original Ogle settler in Delaware, 1664. His wife was Elizabeth, and he had two sons, Thomas and John. His identity and that of his family is well authenticated by scores of records of New Castle County, also by other colonial records. Not long afterwards a Thomas Ogle settled in New Castle County. This Thomas had a son John, both of whom came "before the proprietary's arrival." John had a family of twelve children in 1701, as he so stated in a request for a land grant at the time. (*Penna. Arch.*, Ser. 2, Vol. XIX, p. 230).

As Governor Samuel Ogle's brother Thomas was baptised in 1713 (*Ogle and Bothal*, Ogle, New castle-upon-Tyne, A. Reid & Co., 1902, p. 214), obviously he was not the Thomas who settled in Delaware, "before the proprietary's arrival." The descendants of John, soldier of New Castle, thru his son Thomas, have been traced and verified with original records by the writer. Those thru his son John have been traced by Dr. S. S. Todd, an Ogle genealogist living in the early 1900's, but the writer has been unable to verify the Doctor's conclusions.

Thomas Ogle Clark also stated that several of Thomas Ogle's descendants were still living in Delaware at that time, viz.: Dr. Howard Ogle, Miss Virginia Ogle and Miss Julia Ogle, all of Wilmington; also Mrs. Maxwell Ocheltres of Chester, Pa., Mrs. Stephen J. Clark of Baltimore (mother of Thomas O. Clark). These are descended from Thomas Moore Ogle, sheriff of New Castle County, who was the son of Howard, son of Benjamin, son of Thomas. The father of Benjamin Ogle (b. 1756, d. 1828, married Hannah Simpson) was not Thomas who came from England in the middle 1700's but was the son of Thomas, grandson of John, the soldier of New Castle. The same error in ancestry occurs in *Historical & Biographical Encyclopedia of Delaware*, Wilmington, 1882, from which source Thomas Ogle Clark possibly derived his information.

The identical names of the family of John, soldier of New Castle, and the Thomas who settled in New Castle Co. later, have been a source of endless confusion to historians and genealogists dealing with the Ogles of Delaware. This information should be a step towards complete clarification. To completely disentangle the two families, it would be highly desirable to have a correct list of John's (son of John, soldier of New Castle) and a correct list of the twelve children of John, son of Thomas who settled in New Castle Co. "before the proprietary's arrival."

F. C. Hibbard
P. O. Box 174, Barnesville, Ohio

Mr. William B. Marye, corresponding secretary of this Society, has contributed to the January-April issue of the *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* the first of two articles on Indian warriors' paths in the Pennsylvania-Maryland-Virginia region. The paper is the fruit of long and arduous study, both among records and in the field, and may be regarded as a definitive account of the two more westerly of the known routes to the south which were used by northern Indians. There is a map of the area between Old Town, Maryland, and Everitt, Pennsylvania, on the Juniata, which illustrates the course of a particular warriors' path.

Contributors to this Number

Editor of *The Sun*, Baltimore, Hamilton Owens is the author of *Baltimore on the Chesapeake*, a recent addition to the Seaports Series of Doubleday, Doran and Company. ☆ Raphael Semmes, a great-nephew of the Confederate admiral of the same name who commanded the *Alabama*, is a distinguished historian, best known for his *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* and *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*. ☆ By profession a teacher, First Lieutenant Charles B. Clark, Ph. D. University of North Carolina, now of the U. S. Marine Corps, is on duty in the Pacific Theatre. ☆ William D. Hoyt, Jr., a member of the staff of the Society, is a frequent contributor of papers on historical topics to this and other periodicals. ☆ With the present summary, Dr. Joseph T. Wheeler brings to a conclusion the series which for the first time has thrown full light on the literary property and proclivities of colonial Marylanders. ☆ Mrs. Nannie Ball Nimmo, an occasional contributor to this and other magazines, is a genealogist of long experience. ☆ Corresponding secretary of the Society, William B. Marye is an authority on both the history and genealogy of Maryland.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVIII DECEMBER, 1943 No. 4

BENNET ALLEN, FIGHTING PARSON

By JOSEPHINE FISHER

I

It was late in the year 1766 that a young but slightly worn clergyman arrived in Annapolis.[1] He was the Reverend Bennet Allen, M. A. of Oxford and fellow of Wadham College, whose subsequent career was to create a stir in Maryland.[2] Although he claimed to be "nearly allied to some of the wealthiest and best families in England"[3] little is known of his background except that he belonged to a respectable clerical family[4] but gossip soon displayed him in a more exotic light. He was suspected of being "a spurious Son of ye late Ld Baltimore" while it was reported that his sister Elizabeth who accompanied him "is a Sister to him as Sarah was to Abraham."[5]

[1] At the time of his arrival he was about 29, *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*, arranged by Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1888), 4 vols., I, 16. He was already bald, MS Statement of the quarrel between Allen and Samuel Chew, Dulany Papers, I, 24, Maryland Historical Society. Materials in the Society's Library will hereafter be cited as MHS. He was subject to attacks of gout. Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, Calvert Papers, 1296, MHS.

[2] B. A. 1757; fellow 1759; M. A. 1760, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 16.

[3] Bennet Allen, *An Address to the Vestrymen, Church-Wardens and Parishioners of All Saints, Frederick County; Wherein the Author's Conduct is explained and his Character vindicated from the Aspersions thrown upon it in the Maryland Gazette* (Philadelphia, 1768), p. 6. Hereafter cited as Allen, *Address to the Parishioners.*

[4] He was the son of James Allen "of Yazor, Co. Hereford, Cler." *Alumni Oxoniensis, loc. cit.* His brother, a Balliol man, was chaplain to the Duke of Montague and "with an Estate in Expectancy." *Ibid.*, p. 17; *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), XXXII, 417. Hereafter this series will be cited as *Archives.*

[5] Rev. Jonathan Boucher to Rev. Mr. James, March 9, 1767, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1913), 341. Boucher later reported that Allen had "insolently Lorded it over ye best People here, on Acc't of ye supposed superiority of his own Family." Same to same, November 26, 1768, *ibid.*, VIII, 35.

Although Allen was ordained a priest in 1761 [6] he had not held a living before he came to Maryland. He was said to have settled in London where he was patronised by " leaders of society of doubtful reputation " and " apparently obtained a livelihood . . . by pandering in the press to the fashionable vices of the age." [7] In 1761 he published *A Poem inscribed to his Majesty*, concerning which a contemporary reviewer wrote, " The adulation of the King and Queen is so gross and unmanly, that we are ashamed to see such vile, fawning and slavish flattery, flow from the pen of a free born Briton."[8] Two volumes of verse appeared in 1764 but these also were received unenthusiastically by the reviewers. Of *A Poem on the Peace* one writer said " . . . here are verses that are enough to make a dog howl to hear them! " [9] while another characterized them as " so contemptible, that the best thing we can do is to assign them to eternal oblivion." [10] His other effort, *The Satirical Trifles, Consisting of an Ode written on the first Attack of the Gout—To Mankind, an Ode—The Farewell, written at Woodcote, near Epsom—Epigrams*, puzzled one reviewer: " We know not why the Author should call these Trifles satirical, unless it be on account of some low and contemptible abuse of the Clergy. But we say no more as both the poetry and the Poet appear to be equally below the attention of the public." [11] Only one reviewer has been found who might be considered to have offered faint though patronizing praise; " Very pretty, *macte puer*." he wrote. " Go on boy, thou mayest come to something if thou growest not too pert; try thy hand upon some subject not personal." [12] This reception of his work can have given him little encouragement to persevere in a literary career and Allen retired to Oxford.[13] But he was not happy in what he

[6] Miscellaneous Letters; Certificates; Lay Representatives; Ordination of Clergy, etc., 1700—early 1800, MSS, Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore. Cited hereafter as Misc. Letters, 1700-1800.

[7] Article on Allen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, in which he is classified as a " miscellaneous writer."

[8] *The Monthly Review*, XXV (London, 1762), 398. It was, however, pronounced unobjectionable by the D. N. B.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXX (1764), 239.

[10] *Critical Review or Annals of Literature* (London, 1764), p. 237.

[11] *Monthly Review*, XXXI (1764), 232.

[12] *Critical Review* (1764), p. 158.

[13] Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, *loc. cit.* He later said that he had studied ten years in " the most famous university in the World, where I left a genteel income which I might have possessed in ease." Allen, *Address to the*

referred to as his "recluse Life"; he admitted that "A man has gained a great Point who is able to live alone, since I can't be Alexander, I would be Diogenes. I would be a Philosopher," but, he continued, "Alas! 'Tis in Theory only that I can be one. The slightest accident has this moment convinc'd me, that I never shall be one in practice." His health was suffering; "a nasty, gouty humour" was hanging about him and he had difficulty in sleeping.[14]

Allen's dissatisfaction with his lot in England helps to explain his acceptance of banishment to the colonies. His subsequent career makes it clear that it was not zeal for the advancement of the church which led him to Maryland. He came to seek his fortune. The other factor which brought this typical product of 18th century England to the Province was his friendship with Frederick, Lord Baltimore, who possessed the disposal of the livings of the established church in Maryland. Their intimacy was attributed to "a Similitude in their Studys" [15] and must have dated from 1761 or 1762. Allen had visited Woodcote, Lord Baltimore's country house.[16] But the explanation of Lord Baltimore's partiality which maintains that "Mr. Allen was sent out to Maryland with directions to the Governor to give him whatever he should ask that was in the Proprietary's power to give" because Allen had written in his Lordship's defense when he was under prosecution for the rape of a Miss Woodcock[17] is obviously false, since the alleged rape occurred in December, 1767, a year after Allen arrived in Maryland.[18]

Lord Baltimore's first plan for the benefit of his protégé was

Parishioners, p. 1. Lord Baltimore said that Allen had resigned a good appointment in order to go to America. Baltimore to Governor Horatio Sharpe, September 22, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 329.

[14] Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, *loc. cit.*

[15] Hugh Hamersley to Sharpe, March 28, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 474.

[16] In an undated letter which must have been written in 1767 or 1768 Allen spoke of "his Lordship's Partiality to me after an intimate Acquaintance of Six Years." Allen to Sharpe, *ibid.*, p. 455. Possibly the "Mr. Bennet" referred to in the Calvert papers as visiting Woodcote was Allen. Cecilius Calvert to Lord Baltimore, October 28, 1762, *Calvert Papers, II* (Maryland Historical Society, Fund-Publications, No. 34, Baltimore, 1894), p. 208; same to same, August 21, 1763, *ibid.*, p. 212. One of his *Satirical Trifles* was entitled "The Farewell, written at Woodcote, near Epsom."

[17] Jonathan Bouchier, ed., *Reminiscenses of An American Loyalist, 1738-1789, Being the Autobiography of the Revd Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis in Maryland and afterwards Vicar of Epsom, Surrey, England* (New York, 1925), p. 55.

[18] *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII (1768), 180.

to give him an appointment to one of the best livings in the Province which he was to hold by deputy while remaining in England [19] but Governor Sharpe pointed out that in Maryland a non-resident clergyman would be an innovation which not only would probably be considered contrary to the law of the Province but also the transaction might prove unprofitable to Allen unless he exercised the greatest care in choosing a curate, since many of the Maryland clergy if placed in such a position " might refuse to pay his Rector according to Stipulation & raise an Out cry in the Province that might not be easily silenced." [20] This idea was abandoned however before Sharpe's warning could have influenced the decision and about the middle of October, 1766, Allen sailed for America, accompanied by glowing recommendations from his lordship.[21]

II

The first impression made on Annapolis society by the new arrival was a favorable one. He was described as " a very polite, sensible & well-bred Scholar; & is likely to be much admired," [22] and he was treated with " great civilities " by Daniel Dulany.[23] In the beginning he was ready to make the best of his situation and condescended to express polite enthusiasm for his physical surroundings. He " was rejoiced to see Annapolis—situated on an Eminence, & the Shore on each side the River bold & high. . . . The Houses . . . are built on several Hills & risings without regularity just as convenience or choice directed. They are in number between 4 and 500. There is scarce a bad Situation in Annapolis, an observation which may be extended to all the western shore of Maryland, the country lying high & dry & diversified with a happy mixture of Hills & Valleys." He was ready to admire the native products; " The Indian Corn produces a blade

[19] Baltimore to Sharpe, August 2, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 323.
[20] Sharpe to Baltimore, December 7, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 350-351.
[21] Baltimore to Sharpe, November 2, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 339-340. Allen's license to perform the office of priest in Maryland, signed by the Bishop of London, was dated September 30, 1766. Misc. Letters, 1700-1800. " His Lordship desires you will immediately on his arrival Present him to the best Preferment then open, and advance him afterwards as opportunitys offer. You will find him a very sensible Valuable young Gent[n] and as such his Lordship desires to Introduce him to your Protection and Friendship," Hamersley to Sharpe, September 29, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 332.
[22] Boucher to James, March 9, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 341.
[23] Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.

in the Spring of the most lively green & a flower of threads of silk, some white & others red, emitting a grateful smell. One can't conceive anything more beautiful than such an Appearance." [24]

Soon after his arrival Allen was able to perform a slight service for his benefactor. Lord Baltimore had decided in 1765 to sell the proprietary manors and reserved lands in the Province [25] but his right to dispose of them was questioned in Maryland on the grounds that they were entailed.[26] The first attempt to dispose of them was therefore unsuccessful because it was believed that purchasers could not receive a clear title.[27] Although the proprietor opposed making concessions since he maintained that his right to dispose of the land could not be disputed,[28] the suggestion of Daniel Dulany that resort be made to a fictitious action in common recovery to bar the entail was adopted [29] and a suit in the Provincial Court in which Bennet Allen played the part of defendant and Walter Dulany that of plaintiff settled the question.[30]

Governor Sharpe hastily offered the highly recommended new arrival his choice of the vacant livings, all of which were on the Eastern Shore. Allen however designated as his choice the parish of St. Ann's in Annapolis, although the salary was less than that of one of the parishes he was offered.[31] He preferred a lower salary and Annapolis while waiting for something better to turn up to the wilds of the Eastern Shore " where if I escap'd the Ague & Fevers in the Winter, I must be devour'd by Muskettoes in the Summer, it being for a Person to live there, who has not been

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Archives*, XIV, 189-193, 202-203, 267; Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 264-265.

[26] " . . . because the Mannours were entailed by some Settlements; . . . the question has been asked if the late Lord could not devise because only Tenant in Tail by what Limitation has the present Lord Baltimore an Estate in Fee-simple, or how does his Power to sell arise? " Sharpe to Baltimore, July 19, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 316-319.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[28] Baltimore to Sharpe, November 2, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 339; Hamersley to Sharpe, November 8, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 343.

[29] Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 409.

[30] Provincial Court Judgments, 1767-1768, DD 13, pp. 295-298, 397-432, Maryland Hall of Records; for a résumé of the case see Calvert's Lessee *vs.* Sir Robert Eden *et al,* in Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports, being a Series of the most important Law Cases argued and determined in the General Court and Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland from May 1780 to May 1790* (New York, 1812), pp. 284-297.

[31] Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 373.

born & bred there, as impossible as it is in the Weald of Kent or the Fens of Lincolnshire." [32] Another parish was found for the incumbent of St. Ann's [33] and Allen took his place on January 1, 1767.[34] He was pleased with the parsonage which he described as standing "On the prettiest spot in the Town . . . a little, new Edifice, built out of the profits of the living reserv'd for that purpose, consisting of 3 rooms on a floor. . . . I am fitting up 3 rooms to live in, which I hope to do in abt 2 months." [35]

The Governor assured Allen of his intention of presenting him with a more lucrative parish on the Western Shore as soon as one fell vacant, which he expected to occur very soon; [36] Daniel Dulany advised him to wait for "St. Anne's" in Prince George's County which was worth £200 sterling and "likely soon to become vacant." [37] But as the year wore on without any opportune deaths among his fellow clergy Allen grew impatient.[38] He became critical and described his church as "very old & very ugly and so little public spirit is there, & so little hopes of another, that they will not even make contribution to the support of an organist. I never saw such people. They grow tir'd of everything and from want of steadiness . . . they render everything they do useless & abortive." [39] He grew fearful of the effect the climate might have on his "wretched constitution" and nearly fainted "thro' excess of heat" when travelling to Frederick county

[32] Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.

[33] Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767. *Archives,* XIV, 410.

[34] Minutes of Vestry Meeting, April 20, 1767, in Register of St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, vol. II, Vestry Proceedings, 1767-1818, MS copy, MHS. Hereafter cited as Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

[35] Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767. Calvert Papers, 1302. Later Allen said that he had spent his first year's salary on the Glebe house, Allen, *Address to the Parishioners,* p. 2. Sharpe estimated that St. Ann's was worth £180 sterling a year. Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *Archives,* XIV, 373. Allen reckoned ". . . the Profits of the living . . . under 120 sterling. The Governor values it at more, but then he reckons the house 40 £ a Year, which ought not come into the valuation at all, being no part of the Profits." Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302. St. Ann's is listed by Perry as worth £199.5.3 in 1767. William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church,* IV, Maryland (Hartford, 1878), p. 336.

[36] Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *Archives,* XIV, 373.

[37] Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302. Allen referred to Queen Anne Parish, the church being known then and now as St. Barnabas's.

[38] Hamersley, writing of Allen's induction at St. Ann's, said: "He seems to have chose it for fear of being Rusticated, but does not appear very well Contented with it." Hamersley to Sharpe, July 20, 1767, *Archives,* XIV, 405.

[39] Allen to Baltimore, August 27, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1308.

with Mr. Dulany.[40] His situation forced him to drink "Claret at half a Dollar a Bottle, to keep off the Fever & Ague, besides, I am not happy enough to live without wine."[41] "Often," he confessed, "My romantick turn of thought . . . transports me amongst a tribe of Indians . . . to become the free and happy tenant of the shade, as Cowley expresses himself. But the misfortune is, that my constitution & Education have spoiled me for a good Savage. . . ."[42]

Lord Baltimore had already suggested that until a really good living turned up Allen might hold two of the less desirable ones,[43] but Governor Sharpe had pointed out that according to the act of 1701/2 for the establishment of the church in the Province no incumbent might hold two parishes without the consent of both vestries, which, he reported, "They would never give."[44] Allen, however, had not lost sight of this possible method of increasing his income and refused to believe that the established English custom of Pluralities could be obnoxious to the people of Maryland.[45] He began urging the unfortunate governor to appoint him to another parish.

Sharpe was faced with an awkward decision. Should he risk annoying the Proprietor by thwarting the wishes of his favorite or should he allow Allen to involve them both in what he foresaw would be a serious quarrel with the Lower House of the Assembly? He tried to postpone taking action until he could receive further orders from England and wrote apologetically to Lord Baltimore, "I have . . . been studious out of respect to your Ldp's Recommendation to do Mr Allen every kind of office in my power & to make this place agreeable to him but from some Hints . . . I am apprehensive he is a little disappointed in his

[40] Same to same, June 21, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1306.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Same to same, August 27, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1308.
[43] Baltimore to Sharpe, September 22, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 329-330.
[44] Sharpe to Hamersley, March, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 381. "No Minister, or Incumbent, shall at one Time, hold more than Two Parishes, nor Two, unless by the Desire or Agreement of the Vestry of the said Adjacent Parish and consent of the Vestryes where he resides . . ." An Act for the establishmt of Religious Worshpp in this Province, according to the Church of England . . . Passed March 16, 1701/2. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 271.
[45] When he heard that a parish worth £200 might soon become vacant he wrote to his patron "if I can hold this with Annapolis it will be a livelihood; . . . No Vestry would have objection, if the Church was properly supplied by a Curate." Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.

Expectations." The Governor had noticed that "Gentlemn on their first Arrival here are apt to think a Governor might do whatever he pleases." [46] He thought possibly the Proprietor had not foreseen all the difficulties and he "did not apprehend that His Ldp would have me in order to serve that Gentleman take any step that would be likely to occasion Discontent & afford the Assembly even a Pretence for saying that the Law was dispensed with. . . ." [47] But should Lord Baltimore wish to risk making the experiment, the governor would of course carry out his orders.[48] Before Lord Baltimore's decision could be made known in Maryland an event took place which forced Sharpe's hand; this was the death, in October, of the rector of St. James's at Herring Bay.[49] St. James's was about 16 or 18 miles from Annapolis,[50] possessed a parsonage and two glebes [51] and since it produced the best tobacco in the country the income of the rector was estimated at £300 sterling a year.[52] Allen induced the governor to appoint him, not as rector, but as curate of the parish which meant that his tenure was only temporary; he was, however, to receive the full salary of the living.[53]

Sharpe continued to entertain the darkest view of the situation; he warned Allen that he might have difficulty in collecting his salary and that if there were opposition to the arrangement on the part of the vestries he would not be surprised if "some of the busy men in the Lower House of Assembly who eagerly watch for pretences to clamour take it up as a publick Matter." Allen's reply, that if the Governor merely informed the Assembly that the arrangement had been made in accordance with the wish of the Proprietor all opposition would cease,[54] shows what little under-

[46] Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 410.
[47] Sharpe to Hamersley, July 27, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 414.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Meeting of the Vestry, October 20, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, 1695-1793, St. James's Parish, Anne Arundel County. MS copy, MHS. Hereafter cited as Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.
[50] Sharpe to Hamersley. November 3, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 429.
[51] Sharpe to Baltimore, October 29, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 425.
[52] Sharpe to Hamersley, November 3, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 429. Perry states that St. James's was worth £213.3.0. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
[53] His license stated "until another Rector shall be . . . inducted I do . . . grant Lycence . . . to you . . . to officiate as Curate in the said Parrish . . . to continue during pleasure . . . to have . . . from the Sheriff of Ann Arundell County the whole amount of the thirty per poll as may become due from the taxable Inhabitants . . ." Meeting of the Vestry, November 3, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.
[54] Sharpe to Baltimore, October 29, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 425.

standing he had of the temper of the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly in the decade before the Revolution. Sharpe loyally assured Lord Baltimore that he would not "without Your Ldp's express orders give any such Reason for my Proceedings." [55] He hoped that if the Proprietor agreed with him that Allen's plans were dangerous he would write to the parson, since "the least Hint from Your Ldp will I am satisfied have its due weight, but really I am somewhat afraid lest such Advice from me should be construed as an Unwillingness to serve him to the full extent of Your Ldps Instructions, tho I declare I have already gone & shall always be ready to go greater lengths to serve him than I would do for any other Person whatever not having the honour to stand so high in your Ldps favour. . . ." [56] The extreme perturbation of the Governor is shown by his offer to Allen, if he would surrender St. Ann's and the salary of St. James's did not come to £300, to make up the remainder himself.[57]

Allen not only repudiated the offer but also embarked on a campaign to obtain the consent of the two vestries to his induction as rector of both parishes and when he obtained the support of Samuel Chew of Herring Bay, one of the vestrymen of St. James's, the prospect of gaining his object appeared promising. According to Chew, his support was won by Allen's promise to install a curate at St. James's whom he would remove at once if the parishioners became dissatisfied with him.[58] Accounts of the odd behaviour of many of the Maryland clergy at this time lead one to believe that this argument must have possessed great force, but Allen attributed Chew's ready acquiescence to a desire to conform to the wishes of the Proprietor with whom he had been at school in England.

I showed him, [he said] two letters from his Lordship, in which he expressed his intention that another living should be given to me to hold together with that of Annapolis which though the capital of the province, afforded too scanty . . . a provision for a clergyman to live upon with credit or decency.[59] I begged the concurrence of Mr. Chew, as a vestry-

[55] *Ibid.* [56] *Ibid.* [57] *Ibid.*

[58] "He then informed me of his Intentions and undertook to point out the many Advantages our Parish would have more than others, of our always having it in our Powers to get rid of a Bad man." Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Materials in the Society's library will be cited as HSP.

[59] His conception of what constituted a decent and creditable manner of life for

man. . . . He readily complied, and promised me everything I desire. I mentioned an objection started by an infamous quibble upon the word *adjacent*. "What" said the Squire, "dispute the Lord Baltimore's commands." [60]

The two gentlemen travelled amicably together by boat from Annapolis to Herring Bay to attend a meeting of the vestry [61] at which the members apparently agreed to Allen's holding both parishes if he would enter into a written agreement either to officiate himself at St. James's or to appoint a regular curate; [62] the vestry of St. Ann's however refused to concur in the arrangement [63] and within a short time Mr. Chew had changed his mind. He attributed his *volte face* to the parishioners' loudly expressed anger, accompanied by threats to complain to the Assembly, when "this affair had got about of his intending of holding two Parishes and of the Vestry's consenting to it." [64] In addition to being thoroughly aroused by their fierce prejudice against Pluralities the parishioners were also outraged by the arrangement that Allen as a mere curate of St. James's should receive the salary of a rector. They asserted that since the law

has described in what manner Tobacco shall be apply'd untill there's bean Induction" the vestry's duty was to follow the law [65] which clearly stated, "where there are not . . . Ministers in any Parish it shall . . . be Lawfull to the Vestry to provide some Sober and Discreet person as a Reader. And to present him to the Ordinary, who may Sequester part of the fforty pound p poll; To pay him for such Service; And the rest to be apply'd as the Law in Cases of such Vacancies directs.[66]

Mr. Chew was also influenced to change his mind by considering

a clergyman is somewhat startling if one may believe the account of a conversation he had with John Chew, who was also a vestryman of St. James's. When the parson discovered that the income of the parish was about £300 he said, "*It will hardly supply me with Liquors.*—Mr Chew, much amaz'd at such Extravagance, told him that many Men lived very well and Rais'd large Families upon much less—Mr Allen then ask'd him what he might spend in a year, to which he answer'd—about £60—But, says Mr Allen, you enjoy many Advantages that I do not, as for Instance, you have *a Wife*; now it will cost me *something considerable to enjoy the Pleasures* you are possess'd of; and concluded with saying—*I wish I had never taken the Gown.*" MS statement, "To the Printers" [1768], p. 4, Dulany Papers, MHS.

[60] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 457.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Act of March 16, 1701/2, *Archives*, XXIV, 271.

possible future developments; he foresaw that soon young men from Maryland might be " goin Home for Orders " only to find on their return that all the livings were filled by Englishmen, some of whom might even be holding more than one, " when in fact, we ought to have the Preferrance as our fourfathers . . . largely contributed to his Lordship and ye support of Government: this," Chew pointed out with evident relish to the already nervous governor, " will be just as good as the Stamp Act." [67]

It was the question of what, exactly, had caused Chew to change his mind which led to Allen's first spectacular quarrel with one of the Maryland gentry. It took place in Chew's house over a bowl of punch with the Reverend Mr. Edmiston as the only spectator,[68] when Allen mentioned his plan for renting some of the Glebe land at Pig Point.[69] Chew immediately grasped this opportunity for breaking the news to Allen that he and the rest of the vestry of St. James's had changed their minds.[70] Allen was of course annoyed and insisted that Chew had been influenced to revoke his promise of support by Mr. Walter Dulany, a member of the Council, Commissary of Maryland, vestryman of St. Ann's, Annapolis, brother of Daniel Dulany and step-brother of Samuel Chew. " A Bible lying on a Desk near Mr. Chew he laid his hand on it & said Sir I can here solemnly swear that I have had no Conversation with Mr. Dulany nor knew anything of his being your Enemy in it more than you have told me yourself. Mr. Allen said notwithstanding that Sir I should much doubt or question your Word." [71] After this direct and deadly insult Mr. Chew followed the only course then open to him and ordered the clergyman out of his house; when Allen hesitated, " Mr. Chew called him a damn'd Scoundrel took him by the Collar dragged him to the Door & put him out telling him to go & learn better Manners before he came to a Gentleman's House again, & shut the Door. Mr. Allen attempting to come in again & pushing the Door partly open Mr. Chew struck at him with a Stick." [72]

[67] Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.
[68] " State of the Difference between Mr Allen & Mr Chew " enclosed in a letter from Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives,* XIV, 465.
[69] *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* November 14, 1768.
[70] Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.
[71] *Archives*, XIV, 466.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

According to Allen's version of this painful scene, Chew had flourished a club and called his Negroes to his assistance.[73]

If one can bring oneself to overlook the rather important fact that Mr. Allen was a clergyman, his subsequent reaction also seems inevitable. A hasty note containing the statement of his willingness to defend his character " at any risque " and a proposal for a meeting to talk over the affair " which . . . then will be settled in a *proper* way " was sent to the squire [74] who knowing its source but " not dreaming as it came from a Minister of the Gospel it contain'd a Challenge " threw it into the fire without reading it.[75] But Allen persisted; a second note was sent containing the highly irritating statement, " I find you only valiant in your own house," to which Chew replied suggesting a meeting with pistols " in the old field . . . opposite to Mr Jos. Galloway's old house. . . . Bring no one with you as I shall not. . . . As I am determined that only one of us shall live to tell the tail." [76]

Although the parson confirmed this arrangement further consideration appears to have roused in him doubt, not of the propriety of the spectacle of a duel between the rector of St. Ann's and a vestryman of St. James's, but of Chew's acquaintance with the fine points of the code of honor and of his motives. Chew's request that he come alone seemed ominous and he had been assured, he said, " that Mr. Chew would not scruple shooting me with a gun." [77] He therefore sent word that the weather prevented his coming and requesting more formal arrangements with seconds present and the ground marked. A sudden rising of the South River prevented the message from reaching Chew until the moment set for the duel; it found the Squire waiting on the field of battle. Allen claimed that his suspicions of foul play were justified because Chew was accompanied by a servant armed with a blunderbuss.[78] Apparently no further attempt was made to bring about a meeting and a month later Governor Sharpe was able to report that " They are now so far pacified as to meet at a

[73] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] " To the Printer " [1768], Dulany Papers.
[76] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Allen's Statement of the Transactions between Mr Saml Chew & himself, January 17, 1768, Gilmor Papers, I, 58, MHS.

Coffee House without speaking to each other but will never I suppose be reconciled." [79]

The conduct of Mr. Chew excited surprise and admiration among his circle; one of the Dulanys wrote to another: ". . . who could have thought that the seeds of Heroism were so thick sown in Sam's Breast" and that he was anxiously awaiting the moment "when I shall see the exulting champion in my own Parlour wrought into the extremest pitch of boiling Passion which his impetuous & combustible nature is capable of exhibiting." [80] The fame of his exploit was not confined to Maryland. It was said that as a result of it "The Characters of the Marylanders are very high to the Northward . . . opposition to the most dangerous of all Tyranny viz the Ecclesiastical doth spring up . . . in the Person of Col[l] Sam[l] Chew. The last Hero is idoliz'd at Boston, so rapid hath been the progress of the Blast of Fame. M[r] Otis is determin'd to enter into a Correspondence with him." [81]

In the meantime Allen did not allow himself to be discouraged by the stubborn opposition of the two vestries. Possibly the doubt expressed by the parishioners of St. James's to his right as curate to enjoy the whole salary of the living made him the more determined to hold the parish as rector and eventually the reluctant governor was persuaded to grant him an induction as rector of St. James's without the consent of the vestries.[82] Sharpe wrote plaintively to the Proprietor:

I really think he had better have remained as he was till Your Ldp could have time to signify Your farther Pleasure for I am apprehensive some of the Violent People in the Vestry of this Parish [St. Ann's] will

[79] Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465.

[80] LL [Lloyd] Dulany to "Dear Brother," March 20, [1768], Dulany Papers.

[81] *Ibid.* A labored, very 18th century, satire on the quarrel is among the Dulany Papers: "And now shall y[e] Anger of y[e] Terramarian be likewise kindled; & finding Himself set at Nought under his own Roof, He shall say, Depart from my Threshhold, Thou irreverend Wadhamite! And the Wadhamite shall depart, sorely vex'd: and then shall He cause Letters to be sent unto Him, in which it shall be written, . . . Come forthe then, that We may fight together . . . Now the Wadhamite shall remain secretly pent up in his Sanctuary, & when the Time shall come, that He should go forth to war, he shall say 'Fearfulness & Trembling are come upon Me . . . Whither shall I go? if I go down into yonder Anne-Arundelian Plains, there . . . He may slay me. And then, Ah Me! how will the yellow Damsels of An--p---s lament my Fall! I will feign an Excuse; & will spread it abroad throughout all the Land, that there was a mighty Tempest upon the Waters, so that the River of the South was impassable." Dulany Papers, 5, 14.

[82] Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465. The induction was dated February 11, 1768. Vestry Meeting, June 12, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

upon hearing of his being Rector of S[t] James's take some extraordinary Step or other in order to vex him & create Confusion. I am very glad on this Account that the Assembly stands prorogued to a late Day in May for if they happened to meet at this time I am persuaded M[r] Worthington [83] who is one of the Vestry here & also a Member of the Lower House would immediately prevail on the House to engage in the Dispute & then I could have little hopes of the Session being brought to a peaceable & happy Issue.[84]

By this time Allen had shifted his ground and asserted that the consent of the two vestries to his holding both parishes was unnecessary. His argument was ably presented but could have had little appeal to the more independent inhabitants of the Province; he maintained that Lord Baltimore possessed the same prerogative in relation to the church in Maryland which the king enjoyed in England, including that of dispensing with the law against pluralities, in the case of his chaplains [85] of which Allen was one [86] and he claimed that the required dispensation was implied in a letter from Lord Baltimore in which he "presents me to any Living I may chuse together with the Living of St. Ann of which I am possess'd." [87] This argument was met by his opponents with the simple statement that "The Canons contended for, are such as regard only the Discipline or Government of the Church of England, and consequently, are impertinent to the Subject; Viz, the Church of Maryland." [88]

The brief minutes of the vestry meetings of the two parishes shed light only sufficient to show that the members were putting up a stiff fight to prevent Allen's enjoying the financial benefits he had hoped to gain from the transaction. The vestry of St. James's ordered "that the Sheriff shall retain in his Hands what Tobacco shall be claimed by the Reverd M[r] Allen. . . ." [89] while St. Ann's vestry was obtaining data concerning the dates of Allen's license and induction at St. James's, [90] and inviting M[r] Sam[l] Chew

[83] Nicholas Worthington at this time was a vestryman of St. Ann's. Vestry Meeting, April 20, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.
[84] Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives,* XIV, 465.
[85] Allen to Sharpe, n. d., *ibid.*, pp. 448-449; "A Bystander" *Maryland Gazette,* February 18, 1768.
[86] Allen, *Address to the Parishioners,* title page.
[87] Allen to Sharpe, n. d., *Archives,* XIV, 451-452.
[88] "C. D." *Maryland Gazette,* May 19, 1768, and supplement.
[89] Vestry Meeting, June 7, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's. Sharpe to Hamersley, July 25, 1768, *Archives,* XIV, 519.
[90] Vestry Meeting, June 12, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

to meet with them.[91] Allen later stated that he had been eighteen months in the province without receiving one shilling's salary.[92]

III

He had in the meantime become involved in a public quarrel with Walter Dulany, an important member of the powerful Dulany family. His relations with the Dulanys had at first been intimate [93] but Allen attributed his difficulties with the vestries to the opposition of Walter Dulany. The law of 1701/2 stated that with the consent of the vestries two adjacent parishes might be held by one rector [94] but St. Ann's and St. James's were not adjacent. Allen contended that this objection was a mere quibble since the boundaries of the parishes were within four miles of each other and the two churches closer together than those of many contiguous parishes.[95] But the Dulanys were not convinced by his reasoning:

> This shall be a Specimen of his Ratiocination, whatsoever may be seen at one Glance of the Eye, or repeated with the same Breath, is *ex ipso Facto*, near or adjacent. North and South, being both Points in one Circle, may both be seen with a coup d'oeil, & both repeated with one Breath. Ergo: tho' both East & West lie between them, yet are North & South indubitably *Contiguous, conterminous, adjacent* & *next Door Neighbours*. Q. E. D.[96]

Simple zeal for upholding the laws of the Province was not, according to Allen, the explanation for the stand adopted by Walter Dulany; it was to save himself "Twelve Pounds a Year Current Money in the Education of his Children," [97] by obtaining both the living of St. Ann's and the mastership of the Free School in Annapolis for the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Boucher who at that

[91] Vestry Meeting, January 3, 1769, *ibid.* An article signed "The Querist" in the *Maryland Gazette*, February 11, 1768, advocated withholding Allen's salary.
[92] Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, p. 3.
[93] *Ibid.*: Allen to Baltimore, June 21, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1306; Sharpe to Hamersley, October 30, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 549; Allen wrote of "the Dulanies whose friendship I had cultivated, and neglected others, against whom I had imbibed, from their conversation, their prejudices . . ." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.
[94] Act of March 16, 1701/2, *Archives*, XXIV, 271.
[95] Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 458. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.
[96] MS endorsed "To the Printers," Dulany Papers, 5, 14.
[97] "B. A.," *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.

time was rector of a church in Virginia where he conducted a successful school for boys.[98] The plan had of course to be abandoned when Allen chose St. Ann's for his parish and Boucher reported that "My Friends there are not a little mortified at his so insolently stepping in before Me. . . .[99]

The problem of educating their sons therefore still confronted the Dulanys in the autumn of 1767[100] and when the rector of St. James's, which was conveniently near Annapolis, died in October the plan of obtaining the services of Boucher was revived[101] only again to be thwarted by the demands of Allen.[102] Boucher confirmed Allen's contention that Walter Dulany's opposition to his holding both parishes was because he wanted one of them for Boucher; "Allen came in;" he said, "And the Dulanys on my account, publickly quarrelled with him."[103] Governor Sharpe, however, believed that rivalry for the office of Commissary was the cause of the bitter enmity between the two gentlemen. In the summer of 1767 Sharpe had appointed Walter Dulany to that office;[104] when the Proprietor learned of the appointment he confirmed it but told Sharpe that the office had been intended for Allen[105] and the parson was also informed what his Lordship's intentions for him had been.[106] The Governor concluded that "had not Mr Allen push't for the Commissary's Office nor Mr W. Dulany been a Vestryman, the closest Intimacy would prob-

[98] Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, p. 1. Boucher was a friend of the Reverend Mr. Henry Addison who had married Rachel, sister of Daniel and Walter Dulany. Thomas H. Montgomery, "My Mother's Maryland Ancestry and Kindred." MS. HSP.

[99] Boucher to James, March 9, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 341. "The Virginia Parson was to have come to Annapolis but that is over." Daniel Dulany to Walter Dulany, October 11, 1767, Dulany Papers.

[100] After investigating another schoolmaster with clerical aspirations Daniel Dulany wrote that "all who have sons to educate here have great interest in his settling in Maryland." *Ibid.*

[101] Boucher wrote that he expected "to pitch his tent" at Herring Bay. Boucher to James, November 28, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 355.

[102] Eventually the Dulanys got their way. Governor Eden wrote, "I promised . . . that Mr Boucher shou'd have this Living [St. Ann's] . . . May I beg you to take the Trouble of informing this Gentleman of his Appointment, which I hope will be to his Satisfaction, till such Time as it can be bettered by the Addition of the School, or Removal to a better Parrish . . ." Robert Eden to W. Dulany, May 10, 1770, Dulany Papers.

[103] Boucher to James, July 25, 1769, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 37.

[104] Sharpe to Hamersley, July 27, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 415.

[105] Hamersley to Sharpe, November 10, 1767, *ibid.*, pp. 432-433.

[106] Allen to Sharpe, November 29, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 560.

ably have still subsisted between the Brother [Daniel Dulany] & Mr Allen." [107]

The next move in Allen's campaign was an unsuccessful attempt to bring about the removal of Dulany from the vestry of St. Ann's on the grounds that a member of the Council could not be a vestryman since in England peers of the realm were exempt from vestry duty; [108] but the Marylanders were not unduly impressed by this flattering analogy.[109] It was a communication on this subject, published in the *Maryland Gazette*, which began a lengthy and often tedious newspaper controversy.[110] Among Allen's adherents were "A Bystander," "A Friend to Merit," "The Friend" and Isaac Dakein, the master of the Free School in Annapolis whose opposition to the Dulanys is easily understood.[111] The Dulany party included "Querist," ".C. D.," "A Plain Dealer," "Rusticus," "Clericus," "Tom Fun" and John Clapham, the son-in-law of Mrs. Green, the printer of the *Maryland Gazette*,[112] who became involved in the quarrel when Allen accused the printer of suppressing the freedom of the press upon his refusal to continue his articles unless he either divulged his name or posted a bond.[113] Boucher, still languishing in Virginia, took an anonymous part in the fray.[114]

At first the contributors confined themselves to arguments on the legality of the positions of their respective sides but soon the discussions in both prose and verse ranged over wide fields. What might be considered very broad hints were thrown out concerning the parson's morals and emphasizing his fondness for drink and "sweet pretty mulattoes"; [115] he was pronounced to

[107] Sharpe to Hamersley, October 30, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 549.

[108] "By parity of Reason all Councellors in Maryland, who form a Superior Branch of the Legislature, are, by their Dignity, likewise exeempted from bearing any such like Office." "A Bystander," *Maryland Gazette*, January 28, 1768.

[109] One critic pointed out that "exempt" does not mean "incapacitate." "A Plain Dealer," *ibid.*, March 3, 1768.

[110] A recent writer has estimated that "the newspaper space given to Allen's controversy and affairs was greater in amount than that given to resistance to the Townshend duties which were contemporary." Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[111] Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, preface; *Maryland Gazette*, November 10, 1768.

[112] Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 91, note.

[113] Handbill, May 28, 1768, Gilmor Papers, I, p. 62.

[114] Boucher boasted that "he had the luck at length to get the laugh of the public against him, so that he was completely worsted." Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 56.

[115] "C. D.," *Maryland Gazette*, February 25, 1768; *ibid.*, May 19, 1768, supplement.

be a sharper and a cheat and was accused not only of bolstering his arguments with incorrect quotations from Coke and Godolphin [116] but also of plagiarizing.[117] Allen retaliated by maintaining that in upholding the provincial law against the Proprietor's prerogative, Dulany as a member of the Council was "betraying the Trust, in covertly attacking those rights he is sworn to defend." [118] and he did not scruple to remind his opponents that thwarting him might have serious consequences:

> Too well, methought, *you* knew me, War to wage
> Raise my Resentment, and defy my Rage;
> Whom Phoebus favours, Baltimore commends,
> The noblest Patron and the best of Friends. . . . [119]

Gallantly the Dulany faction retorted:

> But say not Baltimore commends thy crimes,
> Or weighs Men's Merit by their jingling Rhymes:
> Strict Virtue oft, to others vice is Blind,
> Suspicion dwells not in the Noble Mind.[120]

But among themselves the Dulanys acknowledged that opposition to Allen might be dangerous and Lloyd Dulany wrote prophetically to his brother, "There is not the least reason to doubt the very great Influence which this Minister has by some means obtain'd over him, [Baltimore] the Exertion of which to the utter Destruction of any whom he may have apprehended the slightest Injury should he be able to accomplish it can be as little the subject of doubt." [121]

In the spring of 1768, however, news reached the Province which made it appear probable that the Proprietor would be far too occupied at home to interfere for some time in Maryland affairs. It was learned that he was about to stand trial for the rape of Miss Woodcock.[122] Allen immediately wrote a defense

[116] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1768.
[117] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1768; March 31, 1768.
[118] "A Bystander," *ibid.*, May 12, 1768. But, according to ".C. D.," Allen was "intriguing solely for his own interest, under the filmy veil of promoting the services of his Patron" and his actions tended "to embroil the Affairs of his Great Benefactor, and to render his Government odious to the People," *ibid.*, May 19, 1768.
[119] *Ibid.*, March 3, 1768.
[120] *Ibid.*, March 17, 1768.
[121] LL Dulany to "Dear Brother," March 20 [1768], Dulany Papers.
[122] An account of the affair taken from a London newspaper was published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 24, 1768. No mention of it was made at this time in the *Maryland Gazette*.

of his patron which although perhaps able was rather a startling one to emanate from a clergyman. He did not entirely rule out the possibility of Lord Baltimore's committing a rape but he did maintain that

> his Lordship's general Character [was] humane, compassionate, amiable; his Temper frank, generous even to Profusion; his Disposition soft and tender even to a Fault. . . . Can it be supposed, that a Nobleman endowed with such a Temper, Disposition, Understanding and Talents, could make use of any outrageous or barbarous Means to perpetrate his Design (the very Enjoyment consisting in mutual Consent) and may we not on better grounds suppose . . . that the Prosecution has arisen from the mercenary Designs of an artful Woman? [123]

A pamphlet on the same subject with the fascinating title of *Modern Chastity; or the Agreeable Rape, a poem by a young Gentleman of sixteen in vindication of the Right Hon. Lord B————e*, published in England in 1768, is supposed to have been the work of Allen and the son of the Marquis of Granby [124] but since Allen was in Maryland at the time the poem appeared any real collaboration must have been difficult if not impossible.

Before Lord Baltimore became involved in what his friends politely referred to as " a most unlucky Affair " [125] he found time to inform the harassed governor of his further plans for the advancement of his protégé. His Lordship agreed with Sharpe that it would be wise to avoid " any Disputes about Pluralitys " [126] although he followed Allen in believing that he possessed the power to grant dispensations for holding two livings; he preferred, however, " not to push things to extremetys . . . Nor will he be Solliciting or Quibbling with Vestrys to Provide for the Man he regards, when he has it in his own Power to do it, by adding a Civil Office to the Church Mr Allen already holds." [127]

[123] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April, 1768; reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette*, April 21, 1768.

[124] Article on Allen in the D. N. B.; the British Museum attributes this work to Bennet Allen with a query. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1932), III, 371.

[125] Hamersley to Sharpe, March 28, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 472.

[126] Same to same, November 10, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 432.

[127] Same to same, March 28, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 474. A letter on the same subject to Walter Dulany was phrased rather differently; it was explained that when Allen had been sent to the Province " his Lordship meant to give him a decent Provision, but not to violate the Laws of the Province, or to give the least offense to any Parish or to a single Individual in any Parish." Hamersley to Walter Dulany, March 28, 1768, Dulany Papers.

His orders were that any vacant or newly created office should be offered the parson; "his Lordship desires and expects Mr Allen may be immediately Promoted, and the better it is & the Sooner it reaches him, his Lordship will be the better pleased." [128]

On receiving these emphatic instructions, the governor reported, he had "communicated the same to Mr Allen who told Me he had himself a Copy of Mr Hamersley's Letter to Me & as it was apparent from that as well as from a Letter he had had the Honour to receive from your Ldp that your Ldp intended he should be appointed to the best place in the Province he preferred that of Agent . . ." to which Sharpe immediately appointed him,[129] although it must have been with some misgivings. Since no responsible person in Maryland was willing to become surety for Allen the governor accepted his personal bond.[130] At the same time the parson relinquished his claim to St. Ann's but continued as rector of St. James's.[131] He attempted to make his retreat a graceful one by pointing out that he had complied with local prejudice in asking for the consent of the vestries to the arrangement and resigning when it had not been obtained. "Can the People desire more?" he asked.[132] But the Dulanys were not mollified:

> The Inhabitants here . . . have some strange savage Rules,
> That with Them and their Fathers, the custom was ever
> To be ask'd ere They're willing to grant You a Favour:
> Reluctant, I did so, the Scoundrels to please,
> And when rudely answer'd, I never shd seize
> Two Livings of theirs—no Force did I use
> Save only attempted the Laws to abuse.
> What I cou'd not, I did not, so mild is my Pow'r,
> And can You? You cannot, in Conscience, ask more.[133]

IV

Almost immediately, however, a far better opportunity arose for Allen to advance his position in the church. The best living in

[128] Hamersley to Sharpe, November 10, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 433.
[129] Sharpe to Baltimore, March 31, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 479-480.
[130] *Ibid.* This was contrary to custom in Maryland but Allen pointed out that it was in accordance with the best English procedure: "In Colleges where the receipts amount to ten or twelve Thousand Pounds a year; a personal Security is all that is demanded of the Bursars." Allen to Sharpe, March 30, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 476.
[131] Sharpe to Baltimore, March 31, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 480.
[132] *Maryland Gazette*, May 12, 1768.
[133] Dulany Papers, 5, 14.

Maryland was that of All Saint's parish in Frederick; its desirability from a pecuniary point of view was the result of its large area and rapidly increasing population and Allen had had his eye on it from the time he arrived in the Province.[134] When he learned that the incumbent was dangerously ill, he asked that he might succeed to the living "upon confirmation of the news" of his death; [135] he explained that his desire for a hasty appointment was to circumvent the long felt wish of the parishioners to have the overgrown parish divided.[136] His argument against what would appear to have been a logical move for strengthening the church in Maryland by providing a large and growing number of people with several clergymen instead of one was set forth in a letter to the Proprietor when the question of creating another parish in Frederick county had been raised in 1767.

> The Clergy . . . [he wrote] ought & under due regulation would be the chief support of your Government. How? By keeping them dependent. By what means? by Hopes of Interest. . . . What says the Assembly: Divide the livings, introduce equality amongst the Clergy & thus render them independent. . . . The Extensiveness of a Parish & the difficulties of doing Parochial Duties are popular Cries, but not sufficient to induce one to weaken the Powers of Government. To keep the Clergy expectant three or four large livings should be kept up, as objects of their ambition, if they are reduced to a level, they will become the most independent, as well as dangerous opponents in the Province.[137]

Another reason, he thought, for not dividing the revenues of the parish was that "nothing . . . can make a Clergyman at all respected in this country but his income, & even that sometimes fails." [138] In this instance Sharpe did not hesitate to grant Allen's request; he appointed him to All Saints' at the first possible moment and Allen arrived in Frederick with his induction on the day of his predecessor's funeral.[139] The governor also blocked a bill introduced in the Assembly providing for a division of the

[134] Allen to Baltimore, February 1767, Calvert Papers, 1303.
[135] Allen to Sharpe, May 8, 1768, *Archives,* XIV, 494. Later Allen found it necessary publicly to deny the rumor that he had expressed a wish for the death of the popular rector. *Maryland Gazette,* September 29, 1768.
[136] Allen to Sharpe, May 8, 1768, *Archives,* XIV, 494. "As from the many new Settlements made in the Western Part of the Province within these few years the Parish is become very extensive the Parishioners were very anxious to have it divided." Sharpe to Hamersley, May, 27, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 500.
[137] Allen to Baltimore, February, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1303.
[138] Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives,* XIV, 458.
[139] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 501.

parish when Allen informed him that " His Ldp would not suffer it to be divided." [140] But Allen had apparently abandoned his attempt to reconcile the people of Maryland to the old English custom of pluralities because he gave up St. James's without a struggle.[141]

His establishment in the new parish was not however to pass without incident. When he arrived in Frederick a petition for the division of the parish had already been drawn up but he did not expect that his induction would be opposed until " Information was brought that Letters had arrived from Annapolis to . . . a Vestryman with a Bag full of C. D.'s last curious Performances. . . . There were private Letters recommending all kind of Violence even to Murder & that it was a shame I should have so good a Parish. . . . " [142] He then concluded that a plot was brewing to prevent his taking possession of the church and when he " saw the Storm " he " anticipated it. On Saturday I got the Keys went into the Church read prayers the 39 articles & my Induction." [143] This action was contrary to the usual procedure which was to present the letter of induction to the vestry and to obtain the keys of the church from them; Allen used the less orthodox method of persuading the sexton's serving maid to part with the keys.[144] The outraged vestry then had the doors of the church bolted but the parson was not at a loss; he arose at four on Sunday morning and with the aid of a ladder got in a window.[145] When the members of the vestry arrived they pointed out, no doubt with some heat, that his behaviour was indecent and irregular since " no Induction had been shewn to them, by which he ought to be admitted into the Church . . . " and that the parishioners " wished not to receive him until the result of their petition for the division of the parish was known." [146] The parson answered that their jurisdiction over the church had ended when his induction had been signed by the governor.[147]

[140] Sharpe to Hamersley, May 27, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 500.

[141] By the end of the year another clergyman was officiating as rector and in August, 1769, he received his induction. Vestry meetings, December 12, 1768, and August 1, 1769, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.

[142] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501.

[143] *Ibid.*

[144] " A Parishioner of All Saints'," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

[145] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501.

[146] " A Parishioner of All Saints'," *loc. cit.*

[147] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501. Walter Dulany agreed with Allen that the consent of the vestry was not necessary but, he said, " Ye

The members of the vestry then made a dignified withdrawal and the parson, according to his own story,

leap't into the Desk & made my Apology & begun the Service. The Congregation was call'd out. I proceeded as if nothing had happened till the Second Lesson. I heard some Commotions from without which gave me a little Alarm & I provided luckily against it or I must have been maim'd if not murder'd. they call'd a number of their Bravest that is to say their largest Men to pull me out of the Desk. I let the Captain come to within two paces of me & clapt my Pistol to his Head. What Consternation! they accuse me of swearing by God I wo[d] shoot him, & I believe I did swear, w[ch] was better than praying just then.[148] [The congregation] startled at the impious Sound from the Place, where they were used to be delighted with tender Lessons of Religion and Morality, retired; but returning, resolutely told the Parson if he did not quit the Church, they would make the neglect very disagreeable in its Consequences.[149]

Firm words, according to Allen, were not their only weapons; " the Doors & Windows flying open & Stones beginning to Rattle my Aid de Camp M[r] Dakein [150] advised me to retreat, the Fort being no longer tenable." [151] In fact he retreated hastily to Philadelphia in what appears from his actions to have been a chastened and conciliatory mood. Before he left he appointed a curate who was popular with the parishioners and implied that at some future date he might consent to a division of the parish.[152]

He was, however, furious with the Dulanys whom he believed to be behind the opposition he had been met with in Frederick. Formerly, he said, Daniel Dulany had opposed reducing the size of Maryland parishes because " he wanted to keep some large Livings for M[r] Walter's Sons . . . " but when Allen received the appointment to All Saint's Walter Dulany not only influenced the

Treatment he met with " was the result of his refusing to conform to back country customs; " as People of ye middling Class entertain a Great Reverance for old & established customs and have not Sagacity enough to distinguish between Substance & Formality, they thought the Parson had no Right to enter ye Church without their previous Consent." W. D. to Hamersley, September 29, 1768, Dulany Papers, II, 51.

[148] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501-2. Later he said he was not conscious of having used the expression of which he was accused and explained that the presence of the pistol was " accidental, and owing to a Caution that the Road was infested with Robbers." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.

[149] " A Parishioner of All Saints'," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

[150] The master of the Free School in Annapolis.

[151] Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501. He injected a touch of race prejudice into the affair by stating that the mob was headed by a Jew, *ibid.*

[152] He wrote to Sharpe " I really think it would be paying the People too great a Complm[t] to consent to the Division immediately but your Excellency understands the Genius and Temper of the People better than I do," *ibid.*

vestry to oppose his induction [153] but also incited the mob to attack him.[154] Both accusations were indignantly denied by Walter Dulany in a letter to Lord Baltimore's secretary:

> The Man has ye Effrontry to charge me with exciting this Riot against him, when it most evidently proceeded from his own indiscretion & impious act at a time when I was at 80 Miles Distance. . . . To what was ye Tumult owing? Most certainly to ye Pistol—to ye Oath and ye violent & vindictive Spirit ye Parson discover'd upon ye Occasion. . . . I had no Hand directly or indirectly in promoting this Disturbance . . . or in giving any kind of Opposition to M^r^ Allens being rec'd into All Saints Parish, as he has most falsely & maliciously suggested. . . .[155]

(To be concluded)

[153] This was denied as a groundless and dirty insinuation against an independent body which was "not to be guided by any man." "A Parishioner of All Saints'," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

[154] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.

[155] W. D. to Hamersley, September 29, 1768, Dulany Papers.

MAGIC IN EARLY BALTIMORE

By Milbourne Christopher

The first magician to perform in a Baltimore theatre exhibited his wonders on the evening of Monday, November 26th, 1787, at the "Old Theatre," a playhouse long since demolished but which stood on East Baltimore Street.[1] His name, Signior Falconi; his magic, to quote the *Maryland Gazette*, " they [the audience] had never seen before, in this part of the world, any thing equal to it."

Little wonder, for Falconi's " Natural Philosophical Experiments " were varied and curious. A " sympathetic " windmill started or stopped at the audience's whim, an automaton " in a Turkish dress " answered " by signs " questions put to it, and predicted the numbers which came up on two dice rolled by a volunteer. Then, too, there were " Experiments of the CATOPTRIC, or appearances produced by the reflection of Mirrors " and Signior Falconi himself foretold beforehand " the Combinations or Arrangements of four different Numbers, given by anyone of the Company."

His concluding feat was especially striking. A slip of paper bearing a written question was loaded into a pistol and fired out of the theatre, whereupon a dove instantly appeared with the answer in its beak. Even today this would " create wonderment."

Falconi, originally, was to have appeared at the Old Theatre six days earlier. He lamented the delay in the *Gazette*, but added that the " Moisture of atmosphere " would certainly have been unfavorable for his " Experiment of Expulsion by Electricity."

Delighted by his reception in Baltimore, the Italian illusionist prolonged his engagement and in succeeding weeks stressed new and intriguing tricks in his many advertisements. Among them, the " Talisman Chinois," the " Incomprehensible Polomoscope," and " Theophrastus Paracelsus." Were, I wonder, Falconi's tricks as baffling to his audiences as their names are to me? Noteworthy were his remote control mysteries. At a distance of twelve feet Falconi stopped and started borrowed watches and though

[1] Presumably this was the earliest building erected for theatrical purposes. It stood on the north side of the street opposite Lloyd Street and opened Jan. 15, 1782.

a " SOLID GOLD HEAD " as large as a walnut was " sealed up in a tumbler," he made it clang against the sides to answer questions.

As was the custom of the period, Falconi sold seats to spectators who wanted to sit on the stage. The demand must have been great for he said that he could only seat two persons on either side without interfering with his " business." A shrewd showman, Falconi requested those who had seen him perform to refrain from telling of his surprises so that he could " delight each new audience completely."

Admission to the show of wonders was " three quarters of a dollar " in the boxes and fifty cents in the pit and the curtain rose at the early hour of six.

Falconi's first known show in this hemisphere was a failure. In June, 1786, handbills were distributed in Mexico City telling of Falconi's success in the courts of Naples, France and Portugal. The day after the opening, however, a jester " dressed in blue and gold " appeared in the theatre's vestibule and announced that the show had been a fiasco.[2]

Signor Falconi and his " Phisionotrace," a device for " Taking Likenesses " were in Bermuda in 1819. He took four profiles for half a dollar. They could be made normal size, he said, or small enough to fit in a finger ring. So confident was he of his machine that he advertised in the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser* for Saturday, November 6, 1819, " No resemblance no payment." No mention was made of his magic. Perhaps he had given up his conjuring, or had someone appropriated his name?

While Falconi was the first magician to perform in a Baltimore *theatre* it is possible, even probable, that long before his coming traveling sleight-of-hand men had shown their tricks in Maryland homes or taverns. Hyman Saunders, a magician who performed " without descending to the low tricks of cups, balls, ribbands, etc." claimed in a Jamaican paper a performance before " his excellency, Robert Green, Esq., Governor of Maryland." [3] Alas, there was no Governor Robert Green of Maryland at the time. Perhaps Saunders did perform before a Maryland governor, pos-

[2] David T. Bamberg, " History of Magic and Magicians in Mexico," in the *Sphinx*, May, 1938.

[3] *Jamaica Gazette*, March 25, 1775.

OLD THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, *November* 20th, 1787,

SIGNIOR FALCONI,

Will have the honor to perform his first REPRESENTATION of *Natural Philosophical*

EXPERIMENTS.

IT would be tedious to describe the many objects which this Performance will consist of, but he can, without vanity, assure the Public, that they will not find themselves disappointed in their expectations.—From the following list of some few of his Experiments, it will give the Public a small idea how far he will be deserving of engaging their attention. Having always met in *Europe* with general approbation, he is in hopes of having the same success in *America*.

1. A sympathetic WIND-MILL, that will work or stop at the command of any of the company.
2. Some Experiments of the CATOPTRIC, or appearances produced by the reflection of Mirrors.
3. A number of Sentiments will be handed to the Company, which any person retaining in their mind, a little artificial Butterfly will reply to them.
4. A small FIGURE, in a Turkish dress, will answer all Questions by signs, and will guess the number any Lady or Gentleman may throw with two dice.
5. Likewise, any Lady or Gentleman, may throw the dice under a hat, unseen by any person, the above-mentioned Figure will tell the number.
6. The EXPULSION, by Electricity, an entire new discovery.
7. To oblige, by sympathy, the will of three persons.
8. To tell before-hand, the Combinations or Arrangements of four different Numbers, given by any one of the Company.

There are several other Experiments too tedious to enumerate, which the Performer omits mentioning, not wishing to anticipate the pleasure and surprise the Company may receive from them.

Every Night of Performing entirely New.

The last Experiment of this first Representation, and with which he will conclude, will be striking and new. The following very surprising Experiment, which has been allowed by Connoisseurs to be the most astonishing ever exhibited. Signior FALCONI, will desire any person to write any Question they may please on paper, to be signed by as many of the Company as chuse; any person will be at liberty to put it into a loaded pistol, and discharge it out of the Theatre; the Performer will neither see or touch the paper, and to the astonishment of the Spectators, a DOVE will instantly appear with the answer in his bill.

*** TICKETS to be had of Mrs. *Montgomery*, next Door to the Theatre, and at Mr. *Hayes*'s Printing-Office.

BOXES, *Three Quarters of a Dollar.*—PIT, *Half a Dollar.*

☞ The Doors to be opened at Five, and to begin precisely at Six o'Clock.

First Known Advertisement of a Magician in Maryland.
From the *Maryland Gazette*, Baltimore, Nov. 20, 1787.
Actually the Performance Was Postponed to Nov. 26th.

sibly Sir Robert Eden. Even this would not be conclusive, for as early as 1770 Saunders was appearing in New York and elsewhere and a Governor of Maryland may have seen him outside the colony. If, however, early Marylanders did see Hyman Saunders they saw a versatile sorcerer. During the course of his program he fried German pancakes in a borrowed hat, made a piece of money fly from hand to hand, passed a borrowed ring on a sword held between two spectators and pulled off an onlooker's shirt without removing his coat or waistcost.

The *Baltimore Daily Repository* of September 7, 1792, carried the following advertisement:

> By permission Quick Silver (Just arrived in town) will perform this evening in the house of Mr. Henry Speck, at the sign of the Indian-Queen in Water Street, a number of surprising feats of activity, such as balancing, with a number of other exploits too numerous to mention.
>
> To conclude with great Dexterity of hand the same as Breslaw exhibited in London with universal applause. This performance will be on every Wednesday and Saturday evening, to begin precisely at 7 o'clock P. M. Admittance one quarter of a dollar for grown persons and half price for children. He will at any time that does not interfere with his set nights perform a number of feats for any company that may choose to employ him, either by day or night. Vivat Respublica.

Wainwright and Co. presented "a number of Pleasing and entertaining curiosities of Dexterity, with Money and a vast Number of seeming Impossibilities, such as Eating Fire, in a most surprising manner" on the evening of March 15, 1793, at the Old Theatre. Along with the magic, puppets three feet tall from England were exhibited and there was tumbling by a "young man from Edinburgh with the humors of a clown." [4]

In 1794 Falconi was back in Baltimore. This time at the New Theatre (near Lower Bridge). Featured now in his "Philosophical Performances" was the "Sagacious Mermaid," a figure in water which held a sword in its hand and performed "a number of entertaining and instructive experiments." Incidentally Falconi (or was it the printer) was now spelling the title before his name "Seignior." Later he simplified it to "Signor." Falconi stressed that he offered his soirees "without the assistance of an illusive puffing advertisement which often disappointed the expectations of the Public." He went on to say that he purposely

[4] *Baltimore Daily Repository*, March 15, 1793.

omitted many particulars about his performance so as to "have it in his power the more agreeably to surprise the audience." Bowing to late comers, his curtain now rose at six-thirty instead of at six.[5]

Much admired in Falconi's new show were his Chinese Shades (shadows), especially one which danced a hornpipe "equal to a dancing master." New tricks included "The Incomparable Swan," the "Horizontal Dial," "Blind Combination," the "Astonishing Sealed Snuff Box" and "The Ring on the Stick." The last mentioned, by the way, is still popular with present day conjurers. The titles of his tricks now tell something of their nature rather than hide and confuse.

Falconi during his absence from the city, had stepped up his "mathemagical mysteries." He now foretold the sum of *six* columns of numbers written by as many spectators. The "Signor" added a new automaton in February, 1794. An Indian figure, armed with a bow and arrow, hit selected numbers with its released arrow. Further, two or even three dice could be rolled under a hat, yet before it was lifted the Indian marksman would indicate the correct total. To entice his audiences to come earlier Falconi slyly announced that he would open his performance with the new figure.

"Weather permitting," announced Falconi on February 19, he would perform the "Ring and Orange," another mystery even now in the repertoires of magicians, the effect being to pass a borrowed ring into the center of an examined orange. Also, he promised a spectacle "Thunderstorm at Sea." This he described in great detail. It was a machine, he said, which produced the effect of "Swelling of the Sea and Waves rolling with Incredible Impetuosity: the Sky wonderfully covered with Clouds, the natural appearance of the Hail, with its concomitant noise; and a Brig in Distress, which after a struggle is dismasted and goes down."

Baltimore spring weather was too bad for his "Thunderstorm at Sea." On March 12, he said that, though advertised four times before, "changeable weather" caused him to postpone his performance. Now to satisfy those previously disappointed he promised in addition to his usual wonders, a new finish to his

[5] *Maryland Journal* and *Baltimore Daily Repository*, January-February, 1794.

Dove trick (the one in which a dove brings an answer to a question shot out of the theatre by a pistol). To top it off a "Genius of monstrous size" would reproduce the original question. Bowing even lower to latecomers, Falconi announced that his curtain would now rise at seven instead of six-thirty.

On February 17, 1794, the showmanly sorcerer announced a showing of his most popular tricks so that a newcomer to his entertainment could get the cream of his conjuring at one sitting. Still annoyed by stragglers, he added "Ladies and gentlemen be punctual" to his advertisement. Falconi was not one to quibble. In Jamaica in 1801 he boldly remarked in his advertising: "In a community like this, such things [performances of magic] ought to be encouraged; it fills up those hours after dinner too often devoted to the pernicious pleasures of the bottle."

Falconi had a knack of tying in current events with his performance. At the New Theatre in Baltimore on February 22, 1794, he presented a "Representation of engagement between Ambuscade and Boston Frigate taken from accounts published in the New-York papers." Obviously, this was a reworking of his "Thunderstorm at Sea." Catering to French refugees who were flowing into Baltimore at this time, he announced his performances in both English and French. Years later (1816) he again capitalized on the news. During his New York engagements the "ghost" of J.-J. Rousseau manifested itself nightly on his stage.

Soon after Falconi's run at the New Theatre a Mr. Cressin came to town with "two strange animals"—Co-co and Gibonne. Gibonne, the female monkey, as one of her stunts had an onlooker replace a selected card in a pack, whereupon after the time honored magical custom, she discovered it. This was at "Two Flags near lower end of the Market House" in July, 1794.[6]

A "Magic Bush" which changed into a "Tailor without a Head" was a feature of "Harlequin's Invasion," a pantomime presented at the New Theatre on November 24th, 1795. I was delighted to discover that a "Mr. Milbourne" designed the "scenery."[7]

John Rannie, ventriloquist, posture maker and magician, came to Mr. Wyant's Ball Room in November, 1802.[8] He offered

[6] *Baltimore Daily Repository*, July 11, 1794.
[7] *Federal Intelligencer*, Nov. 24, 1795.
[8] *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1802.

among other things "Arts and Experiments and real power of attraction by the magical wand." The sort of thing that was once called witchcraft, Rannie said, but he freely admitted "All is deception and experiment." Tobacco-smoking Baltimoreans were warned beforehand. "No segars to be smoked in the room."

OLD THEATRE.

On FRIDAY EVENING next, will be performed one of

Signior FALCONI's

Principal PIECES, called

Theophraſtus Paracelſus.

This Performance will exhibit a SOLID GOLD HEAD, as big as a Wallnut, which will be ſealed up in a Tumbler, and will anſwer every Queſtion by ſigns. The diſcovery is entirely new, and excited the admiration of the curious in ſeveral parts of Europe.

*** TICKETS to be had of Mrs. *Montgomery*, next Door to the Theatre, and at Mr. *Hayes's* Printing-Office.

BOXES, *Three Quarters of a Dollar*—PIT, *Half a Dollar.*

☞ The Doors to be opened at *Five*, and to begin preciſely at *Six* o'clock.

Baltimore, December 3, 1787.

From the *Maryland Gazette*, Baltimore, Dec. 4, 1787.

There were, by the way, two Mr. Rannies performing at this time. The first played in New York in December, 1801, with his ventriloquism and the trick of beheading a rooster then restoring it. The second arrived two months later. He billed himself as Mr. Rannie, Senior, and he pointed out that he had been in Boston 46 nights previously and that this was *his* second American engagement. This Mr. Rannie, too, was a ventriloquist, and he,

too, performed feats of curious magic This poses a problem. Which Mr. Rannie came to Baltimore in November, 1802.

Two animal " mentalists " were on view in 1807. The first was Spottie, an "African horse." Spottie, according to the *American and Commercial Advertiser*,[9] was of four colors, spotted like a leopard and had a tail like an elephant. This curiosity added, multiplied, subtracted, divided, told the time by a watch and counted " the number of buttons on a gentleman's coat."

Soon after this the "Goat of Knowledge" came to town and amused Baltimoreans by not only reading and spelling but also, like Gibbone, discovering chosen cards in a shuffled pack.[10]

In January, 1811, Mr. Martin offered his " Philomathematical amusements intermixed with pleasing feats of Dexterity, Surprise and Deception " plus " Phantasmagoria " each evening but Saturday at six in Mr. Barney's Assembly Room.[11] Three years before his Baltimore visit, Mr. Martin had been the center of an amusing controversy in New York. A critical New Yorker said in a letter to the *Commercial Advertiser* that the place where Mr. Martin was then performing was once a church but now " a place of amusement for vulgar minds." Not only were tricks displayed, he went on, but " the devil dances on stilts to the tune of a hand organ." Magician Martin snapped back that since the criticism more people than ever were coming to see the devil dance, and that though he had originally planned leaving New York that week he would stay and show curious New Yorkers " as many devils " as they might care to see.

Sad epilogue. In a postscript to Mr. Martin's first advertisement in Baltimore he offered all of his " machines " for sale, and said that he himself would instruct the purchasers in their use. Perhaps Mr. Martin had tired making the devils dance.

[9] Sept. 12, 1807. Spottie was on view at Mr. Cook's tavern, Market Space.
[10] *American*, Nov. 20, 1807. The Goat of Knowledge was shown at Mr. Myer's Tavern, 25 Marsh Market Space.
[11] *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1811.

CAPTAIN ROBERT MORRIS OF RATCLIFFE MANOR

By Louis Dow Scisco

The first recorded presence of Captain Robert Morris in Maryland was in June, 1653. In that year Captain Samuel Tilghman's ship, the *Golden Fortune*, lay at St. Mary's. Thomas Kedger of St. Mary's owed Tilghman four pounds sterling and, to cover the debt, he shipped on Tilghman's vessel a hogshead of tobacco consigned to a London man. When the ship reached England, however, everything went wrong with the tobacco and Kedger's debt was unpaid. After an unexplained wait of five years Tilghman sued Kedger. As evidence he brought a written declaration of Robert Morris stating the history of Kedger's hogshead. Morris must have been a ship officer on Tilghman's vessel in 1653, for no other could have known the circumstances so fully. Morris seems to have been voyaging regularly to the colonies, for he says that he met Kedger's servant in Virginia two years after the hogshead incident and talked with him about the matter.

Both Tilghman and Morris described themselves as mariners by trade and as residents of Ratcliffe in England. Many of the ship captains who plied between England and the colonies were Ratcliffe men. It is an outlying section of the London area, located on the Thames River where ships are berthed.[1]

By 1657 Morris had won to the grade of shipmaster and was still sailing between the mother country and the colonies. The Maryland storekeeper Basil Little visited England that year and, with goods and servants, sailed for home on Morris's ship. On the voyage he died. Before his death he made Morris and Henry Meese his executors. Morris filed executor's bond in December, 1657, describing himself as a merchant. The estate was settled expeditiously and without any difficulties that required court action.

Proprietary rule was restored in Maryland on March 24, 1658, one result of which was that it again became possible to obtain

[1] No evidence has been found of relationship between Captain Robert Morris and Robert Morris of Liverpool who appeared in Talbot County by or before 1741, and was the father of the Revolutionary financier Morris, of Philadelphia. There was another Morris family of Philadelphia descended from Anthony Morris, also from Ratcliffe, but here again, no evidence of relationship was found.

proprietary land grants. There must have been much talk in the colony about the new opportunities thus opened. Captains Tilghman and Morris were among those interested. On June 2, 1658, Morris obtained a land warrant for 1000 acres with manor rights. Later he acquired rights for 200 acres more. In the following year surveys were made. On July 27, 1659, the 200 acres were located by a survey of Poole's Island. In August the surveyor laid out three manors at Choptank River, one for Dr. Richard Tilghman, one for Captain Samuel Tilghman, and one for Robert Morris. Patents were issued on January 17, 1659-60. Morris called his land Ratcliffe Manor, after his English home. It does not appear that either of the captains made any immediate effort to establish working plantations on their holdings.

In 1660 the records reveal a defamation suit brought against Morris by Thomas Burdit. Morris's witnesses at the trial were men from his ship. They said that Burdit was on board their ship in Patuxent River when Morris entertained Henry and William Coursey. Liquor was brought out and, as etiquette demanded, the Courseys were brought drinks just before they went over the side. Meanwhile Burdit slipped a bottle in his pocket but was caught before he could get away. The comments that Morris made rankled in Burdit's mind. The court heard the evidence and said Burdit had failed to prove his case.

For the next few years Morris seems to have made his regular annual voyages without important incident. Of necessity he carried tobacco, and probably staves, as most ships did. Also he had passengers, one of whom he sued in 1661 to recover passage costs. In 1665 John Wright complained that certain untoward incidents prevented him from sending his commercial accounts to England by Morris's ship. In 1667 when master of the ship *King David* he had some trouble in Virginia on a charge of violating English statutes. No details of the affair have been preserved.

Captain Tilghman abandoned his plantation project and in 1664 sold his manor tract, but Morris was more persistent. In the winter of 1667-68 he was in Maryland and planning to stock his plantation with New England horses. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the following letter, written to the younger John Winthrop, then governor of Connecticut:

Honored Cussen

Sir I having bin informed that you have great store of horses and

mares which you make little youse of: If you please to doe mee the Favor to seend mee tow of your largest well spred young mares For Breeders by Mr Will Gard or aney other bound For Wey River in Mary-land I shall order you your pay heare in the hands of Mr Will Corsey or If you please to charge mee with ye valew of them in money starling shall pay your bills at home in England and ye above said Corsey will pay ye Mr the fraight heare in Marey land (Sir the occasion is that I want them for my plantation)

If you charge bills I live wheare you know in Radcliffe over against the stone taverne

Brother Gostlin was verey eill when I went From home and his good wiffe is dead and I Feare the children will not find him have so great an estate as wos thought For all men that he hath to doe with cheate him. Sir I have not ellce but humble servis and please to command mee as much heare or in England and I shall be glad of opertunitey to serve you and am Sir your assured Loving Kindsman

Wey River in Marey Land
this 8 of Febb: 1667/8 Robt Morris

William Gard, mentioned in the letter, was master of a small freighter sailing between New England and Maryland. In the preceding year, 1667, the St. Mary's officials had seized Gard's boat for a small infraction of the navigation law. Morris now ransomed the boat and took a bill of sale, dated April 1668, from the provincial government.

On June 5, 1668, under instructions from England, the Maryland governor designated eleven entry ports. All incoming ships were required to load and unload at these ports and not elsewhere. Morris seems at this time to have been in favor with the authorities, for one of the ports was on his property of Poole's Island and another port was on his manor land at Tredavon Creek.

In some way, during this year 1668, unexplained in the records, a quarrel developed between Morris and John Morecroft, the St. Mary's lawyer. Morecroft had been Gard's lawyer in the confiscation affair, but the quarrel is not linked with that matter. When Morris sailed home again at the close of summer he called upon Lord Baltimore at his Westminster home and made some sort of complaint, which also has not found its way into the records, but which seems to have led the lord proprietor to communicate with St. Mary's.

In the spring of 1669 when Morris again reached the colony he was promptly sued by Morecroft on a charge of defamatory

words to the lord proprietary. Morecroft was too good a lawyer not to know that the suit was untenable. The action looks like intimidation. Then, in April, two things occurred almost coincidently. About April 15 Morris filed charges with the General Assembly impugning Morecroft's character as a member of that body, and on April 20 a new proclamation by the governor revised the list of entry ports. The new list of entry ports did not include Poole's Island or Ratcliffe Manor. Possibly the two events were unconnected, but appearances suggest that Morecroft influenced the governor's action.

In his complaint to the Assembly, Morris made three charges; first, that Morecroft had tried to stretch Maryland law to cover acts done in England; second, that he had taken excessive legal fees and had contracted for legal service on a yearly basis; third, that in a specific instance he had served both plaintiff and defendant. Morecroft's answer to the first charge was perfunctory. To the second he replied that his acts were conformable to English practice and were not contrary to Maryland law. To the third, he said that, in the instance named, the parties had two suits instead of one, and the shift of his legal service was entirely proper. When the matter came before the upper house of the Assembly it exonerated Morecroft and gently rebuked the lower house for taking up the charges. None of Morris's charges throw any clear light on the cause of his quarrel with the lawyer.

In the papers of this contest Morris is once described as "late of Talbot County mariner" and Morecroft refers to him as "Robert Morris, who is no member of this province, but a foreigner and a stranger." Apparently any plantation plans that he had were now abandoned. On August 12, 1674, Morris and wife Martha deeded Ratcliffe Manor to James Wasse of London, who took out a new patent for it in 1676. Morris did not make any conveyance of his rights in Poole's Island.

After 1674 Morris's name disappears from the recorded affairs of Maryland. Very probably his employers shifted his routings. He next appears in Virginia records, where he demeaned himself creditably during the short period of Bacon's rebellion.

In September, 1676, the ship *Young Prince*, Captain Robert Morris in command, anchored in James River along with other English vessels. Rebel forces were active in the vicinity and

Morris put himself at the governor's service. The ship became "a receptacle for the loyal party." Morris and his crew aided in the capture of a rebel fort, and for a time the ship was used for imprisonment of captured rebels. In 1677 he sailed home to England with grateful testimonials of the help he had given. Two years later Morris and two other shipmasters asked the English government to repay their expenditures during their service in Virginia. On March 19, 1679, the privy council ordered payment of awards to them and also directed that their names be presented to the admiralty office as persons worthy of naval employment.

This commendation from the highest government body in England is the last definite reference to Morris's career. He was now probably a man in his fifties and about due for retirement from sea service.

Meanwhile Poole's Island in Maryland lay unclaimed by title. John Carvile of Cecil County took possession. About 1700, when the sheriff reported on his rent roll he stated as follows: "The said Morris being dead he left the same to a man in New York; land uncultivated; noe rent made here this 20 yeares." There was an influential Morris family in New York at this time, but its earlier members came originally from the Welsh border and they seem quite unrelated to Captain Morris. His family was still in England. He had two sons, Robert and John. Carvile opened communication with the heirs and got a deed for Poole's Island. The deed, dated March 14, 1706-07, recites that John Morris of London is brother and heir of Robert Morris deceased, son of Robert Morris, mariner, late of London, also deceased, and goes on to convey 200 acres of land constituting the island.

In his letter to the younger Winthrop the captain refers to himself as a kinsman of Winthrop. He was a cousin by marriage. The elder John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts, had a sister Jane who married Thomas Gostlin, a clothier of Groton, Eng. Jane presented her husband with four sons and eight daughters. The eldest son, Benjamin Gostlin, was a well-known shipmaster of his time, making long voyages to distant parts of the world. His home was at Ratcliffe and it is he to whom Morris refers as "Brother Gostlin" in the letter of 1668. The third daughter, Margaret Gostlin, married Thomas Heathcote and went

to live in Antigua where her husband was a plantation manager. Their son George Heathcote also became a shipmaster with quarters at Ratcliffe, but later transferred his home to New York and died there. It probably is he whom the sheriff meant when he reported Poole's Island as belonging to " a man in New York." The seventh daughter of the Gostlins was Martha Gostlin, who became wife of Captain Morris. She was born about 1630 and survived her husband. She was well advanced in years when her son sold Poole's Island in 1707, and at that time she received four guineas for signing away her widow's rights in the island.

THE CALVERT–STIER CORRESPONDENCE

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

(Continued from Volume XXXVIII, page 272, September, 1943)

The Calvert-Stier family letters assumed a more personal note after the death of Rosalie Calvert Stier in 1821. Her oldest children, who carried on the correspondence with their uncle in Belgium, did not discuss the affairs of the world. Their letters were shorter and dealt almost entirely with personal experiences.

Caroline Maria Calvert was twenty-one years old when she penned her first letter to Jean Charles Stier. She devoted all of its contents to an account of her mother's last illness and to a description of the sculptured tombstone erected as a memorial.

[Caroline M. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, July 27, 1821]

. . . You ask me for the details of the last illness and of the end of my dearly loved Mother. She was obliged to keep to her bed from the beginning of the winter on account of the lameness which I believe she described to my Aunt Van Havre. At first we hoped that she would be cured, but I think she herself felt her end was approaching. But this moment had no terrors for one who had for several years regulated life by the laws of Holy Scripture. During the intervals of cessation of pain, she was busied in giving directions to her gardener, and even separated a quantity of seeds herself and said where and how she wished them to be planted. She instructed us in the most careful way in the management of the household. The day before her death she gave something to every one of her friends who surrounded her and to all her servants. She consigned her children to their father and to the care of the Almighty. She was buried with her four children on an eminence not far from the house, and my father has ordered a beautiful white marble tombstone, which is nearly finished. On the head panel he had executed by an Italian sculptor the figure in low relief of my mother ascending to Heaven on a cloud, and a little higher, four angels, her children, are stretching out their arms to receive her into the Celestial City. . . .

George Henry Calvert was eighteen and a student at Harvard College when he took up his part in the trans-Atlantic exchange of news. He commented at length on his studies and gave interesting glimpses of life at the University in Cambridge.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Cambridge, Mass., August 10, 1821]

. . . My father has always intended that I should go to Europe as soon

as I have finished my education in this country. I have been two years at Cambridge and have two more to remain, at the expiration of which I shall graduate. I am perfectly well satisfied with my situation, and much more so than whilst at boarding school near Philadelphia at which I was for six years, with the exception of a month in each year which I spent at home. Since I have been in Cambridge I have studied Latin and Greek and Mathematics, exclusively, and am now just entering on the more interesting studies of Metaphisicks and Natural Philosophy. Whilst I was at school in Germantown near Philadelphia I acquired a knowledge of the French language and could speak and read it with as much ease as English. But, having passed two years without conversing, except when accidentally I have met with foreigners who could speak no other language but French, I find it now somewhat difficult to keep up a conversation, although I can read with facility, and can understand another person who is speaking. I fear that you will be disappointed at finding that I write to you in English, but I hope that you will readily excuse me; for although I could have written this in French, yet I could not express myself so clearly as in English and should perhaps have given you an incorrect specimen of my knowledge of the language. Very little attention is here paid to French or Spanish, and to study them or not is optional with the students.

I have now passed the most tiresome and disagreeable part (if any part of the college life is disagreeable) of my college course and have the most interesting and pleasant portion of the four years in anticipation. I have just commenced attending the Lectures, from which the student receives more instruction than from any of the college studies. It is on account of the lectures that are delivered at this University that it holds a front rank among the colleges of this country, and indeed in this respect it is very little inferior to the first universities of Europe. I look forward to the expiration of the time that I have to remain here, after which I hope I shall cross the Atlantick to visit those who are so dear to me. . . .

The letters for the next few years are missing, so there is a gap in the correspondence. When it is picked up again, young George has graduated from Harvard (in 1823) and has gone to Europe to see his relatives and to study history and philosophy at Göttingen. He spent the better part of two years in these pleasant tasks, then turned westward through the Low Countries to England. His comments on judging horses and paintings, sounding very much alike, reflect his youthfulness.

[Jean Charles Stier to George Calvert, Clydael, October 29, 1825]

Your son George arrived with us on the 8th instant on his way from Göttingen to London and Edinburgh. A few days passed among his friends will be useful to him as a relief from the past and as a preparation for future studies which he is disposed to continue with persevering

alacrity. At this moment he is making himself acquainted with our Flemish language, interesting to him as well for present use as for its connection with the original English and German languages. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Ostend, (November, 1825)]

You see by my date that I have been disappointed, and you will readily conclude that nothing but bad weather could have detained me. The weather is now however calm and the wind favourable so that I sail tonight and shall dine tomorrow in London if we have as prosperous a voyage as the weather-wise promise us. I found on arriving at Ghent that the diligence left it every day for Ostend at 1 P.M. so that I might have made a single day's journey of the whole distance. I found at Ghent an Englishman, a gentleman and an excellent companion, with whom I came on to this place in the boat—a most comfortable way of travelling when one happens to have pleasant company. Had the captain of the steam boat been of my mind we would have sailed last night for the weather was not bad. The steam vessel in which I am going is not a remarkably fine one—she was out 2 nights ago in a storm. I walked down yesterday to the lighthouse to have a fine view of my old friend the ocean. The wind was high and the sea agitated by the past storms, so that I renewed my acquaintance after two years separation under the most favourable circumstances. . . .

P.S. The Englishman with whom I came from Ghent is I'll warrant as good a judge of *Horse flesh* as any man in the world. He came on to Belgium to see the country and finding horses cheap he bought a few dozen (mostly work-horses) shipped them to England and in a few weeks cleared 300 pounds! I went with him this morning to examine some which he wished to purchase, and although to be able to judge of Horses is not to be learned in a few minutes, I have learnt at least the *forms*, as it were, of examination and could pass among the *uninitiated* for a connoisseur.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, London, December 4, 1825]

It is now three weeks since my arrival in London. I had already fixed the day of my departure several days sooner than today when the arrival of my friend and classmate W. Amory of Boston induced me to delay my journey in order to be a few days with him. He left London yesterday with a younger brother for Göttingen, and I leave tomorrow. I have obtained a letter of introduction to Edinburgh from a gentleman who had been several years in America. He tells me that his friend to whom he has given me this introduction will make me acquainted with the gay society of Edinburgh, so that with the letter I brought from Germany and the acquaintances I already have in Scotland I trust I shall find myself very comfortable.

I have not seen the Chapeau de Paille[32] not being able to find out

[32] Rembrandt Peale's comments on Rubens' painting, the *Chapeau de Paille*, and its place in the Stier collection, have been quoted previously.

where it is. However it is not the last time that I shall be in London and I shall make a point of seeing it before I leave Europe. I have been much gratified by seeing the painter my country man West [33] whom I mentioned to you. His portrait of Byron is remarkably fine. As soon as I saw his pictures I perceived that he was not of the mixture school. There are two other Americans here who are receiving 4 and 500 pounds a piece for all the pictures they paint. The British Gallery is not open and will not be for some time. I have seen Sir T. Lawrence's portraits again. You cannot conceive my dear uncle how much I am indebted to you for your instructions in painting and in judging them. I find I can distinguish good ones almost at first sight among a crowd of bad ones. . . .

I have seen one of the docks which you recommended me to see. It was filled with vessels and was literally a " forest of masts." I have not visited the Theatre so much as I supposed I should do. The English themselves acknowledge that acting never was at so low an ebb as at the present moment. I find that sovereigns disappear out of one's pocket in London almost as rapidly as gute groshen do in Germany and have been obliged to make a hole in the £100 intended for Edinburgh. However it makes no difference as to the roundness of the sum, for Van Neck has given me poste notes instead of a Bill on a Banker. I go through York which is 200 miles from London and shall rest a day in it. Edinburgh is by the road I take 380 miles from London. I leave London tomorrow afternoon at 3½ and arrive at York Tuesday evening at 5. On Thursday I shall set out from York and in 22 hours arrive at Edinburgh. I have sent by waggon my box and one of my trunks. I will write to you soon after my arrival at Edinburgh. . . .

The winter of 1825-26 George spent in Edinburgh, and his letters to his uncle from that Scottish city provide interesting views of the life of a young American in a foreign scene, and his reactions to the place and the people. One gathers, for example, that there was a gay season, including a theatre—all involving more expense than the father and the uncle thought necessary!

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, December 27, 1825]

I must beg you to excuse me for deferring so long to inform you of my arrival and establishment in this place. However the reason for my doing so is that I could not sooner have said anything positive concerning my success with my letters of introduction. I dined yesterday with Mr. Douglass, one of the gentlemen to whom I had a letter. It was a large Christmas family-party and a very pleasant and sociable one. I made several interesting acquaintances and Mr. Douglass has already mentioned several families to which he will introduce me so that I hope in a short time to be generally acquainted. The other gentleman to whom I brought a letter I have only seen once and is for a fortnight absent from town. I found that

[33] William Edward West (1788-1857).

Madame Eude had left Scotland with her son a month before my arrival and was in London at the same time as I was. Her son was not *married* but had been in love with the daughter of Mrs. Rymer the lady with whom he boarded. This I have learnt from a German since I have come to the house (for I have taken Baron Eude's room). The lady is a handsome widow of 30 with three children one of them 13 years old. The Baron himself was 30. I don't know whether his mother came from Germany for the express purpose of preventing the match *so unworthy of a Saxon nobleman*, or whether she first learnt what the state of the case was on her arrival in Edinburgh. I assure you that there is no danger of my following his example. I have engaged my room for 3 months and am very well satisfied. I board in the house and have very good company. I have been several times to the theatre on the fashionable nights Saturday and Monday. I have however seen no beautiful women although a great many *goodlooking ones.* I hope in my next letter to be able to tell you more about them. I have recommenced my studies which are English and Scotch history for the present. I attend no lectures. . . .

In my next letter I shall tell you more about Edinburgh of which I have as yet seen little, for the weather has been so foggy and wet that I have not yet viewed it from the most advantageous points. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, April 11, 1826]

. . . You really seem to think that my principal occupation at Edinburgh has been to make an ostentatious display of wealth and that I have been spending twice as much money as was necessary. That I have spent more than was absolutely necessary I have told you in another letter, but I have not been extravagant, and I am sure that any one of my acquaintances here would be surprised to hear me charged with being so. My dear father thinks that I am a little inclined that way, and on that account he talks so often of economy, wishing to check this supposed propensity; however I trust I shall be able to convince him when we meet at Liverpool that although I shall have spent in the last 7 months £300 I have not been so unreasonable as you appear to think I have. Of the £285 25 must be subtracted, being the amount of my tailor's bill whilst at Göttingen, leaving 260 which with the 40, which in my last letter I begged you to have the goodness to send to me, make up 300. Now when you consider that London is an expensive place even to a miser, that I was obliged also to get there a new outfit of clothes (and I am somewhat particular in dress) that *getting fixed* in a new place of abode is always attended with certain expenses and that a person going into Society is subject to a variety of unavoidable little expenditures, that boarding and lodging are so unreasonably dear in Edinburgh,—when all this is taken into consideration I declare I think that I should be acquitted even of being unreasonable. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, April 27, 1826]

. . . I had purposed to set out from Edinburgh about the 20th of May and after making a pedestrian tour through the most interesting part of

Scotland to proceed to Liverpool through Cumberland and Westmoreland, famous for their lakes, but an old classmate of Cambridge, whom I found here and who was to accompany me, having gone suddenly to London has disconcerted this plan and I have not yet substituted any other for it. . . .

The gaiety is at an end in Edinburgh and just commencing in London. I have not been out a great deal but quite sufficient to form a judgment (as far as my young experience in judging will admit) of Edinburgh society. Upon the whole it is unfavourable, and I shall no longer be quite so much shocked as I used to be before coming to Scotland, when I hear Englishmen abuse the Scotch. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, May 20, 1826]

. . . I shall certainly follow your advice and see at least a part of the Highlands of Scotland before leaving it. I set out tomorrow in the steamboat for Aberdeen about 100 miles to the north of this. The boat goes in at several places on the coast so that I shall have an opportunity of seeing the country from points of view more interesting than I should have if I went by coach. I go to the neighborhood of Aberdeen to pass a few days with Colonel Wood who, as I mentioned to you in my last letter passed through Edinburgh some time ago and gave me a pressing invitation to come and spend some time with him, at his " cottage." From Aberdeen I shall go to Perth and from Perth to Loch Katrine famed since Sir W. Scott's Lady of the Lake. Thence to Glasgow and then through Carlisle and Cumberland to Liverpool. . . .

George Calvert, the father, and Eugenia, the younger sister—Caroline was married in 1823 to Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia—joined the son in June, 1826. The young man met them at Liverpool after his tour of the Highlands, and they went to London on the way to Rotterdam, where the older man had business to transact with the merchants who handled his tobacco shipments. Then the family visited the Stiers at " Clydael " and divided the winter between the social circles of Antwerp and Paris. The return to America was made in the spring of 1827, and the next letter, written in Philadelphia, describes the ocean voyage of thirty-five days.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Philadelphia, May 30, 1827]

I can at last address you from my own country. The agreeable sensations which my return to it produce does not weaken my attachment and gratitude for those whose kindness and affection I have experienced during my absence. . . . We had a passage of 35 days, which is not a long one. The weather was tolerably good but changeable. We had fair winds and foul damp winds and dry winds, warm and cold winds strong and calms, and profited by one of the latter on the banks of Newfoundland to catch

cod-fish. There was but one passenger besides ourselves, an old Quaker lady; fortunately, however, the captain was able to make a fourth hand at whist. . . .

Soon after the return from Europe, George Henry Calvert began his courtship of Elizabeth Steuart, daughter of Dr. James Steuart, a Baltimore physician.[34] The affair caused a complete break with his father, who apparently felt that the son should marry someone with money in order to provide for the future maintenance of the estate, "Riversdale." George left his parental roof and spent the winter in Baltimore.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Baltimore, November 8, 1827]

. . . You recollect my dear Uncle the disappointment I mentioned having received from a lady residing here. I am sure I shall never forget the affectionate sympathy which you showed at my distress. She is still unmarried, more fascinating and more interesting than ever. I love her more devotedly than I did when I went to Europe. My father has told me that he will withdraw from me the means of support if I renew my attentions to her, and has expressed his immovable opposition to my wishes to marry her. Her character and family are such that he can have no objection to her and indeed (with the exception of her want of fortune) he does not even pretend to have any. She is universally belov'd and esteem'd and is distinguished for her intelligence, her disposition, her manners and her loveliness. This is not the exaggerated estimation of a lover but it is the opinion of all who know her. I have not yet ascertained what her feelings towards me are and have no particular reason to suppose them favourable. However whether I succeed with her or not, the effect of the declaration of my father is the same upon me. I have told him that as he was determined to oppose my marriage with any but a rich woman, I should leave him and endeavour to engage myself in some occupation which would maintain me; my hope is that my acquaintance with modern languages will enable me to obtain a situation as correspondent to some mercantile house. . . .

You will readily understand, my dear Uncle, what my situation is. Had I known four or five years ago that wealth in the lady was an indispensable requisite to obtaining my father's consent and that my feelings were not to be a consideration, I should have commenced a profession which would have given me independent maintenance. I now find myself unexpectedly thrown upon my own resources after having been brought up in the expectation that I should have at least a sufficiency independent of my own exertions. I don't know what may be the legal construction of Grandpapa's will, but I can never suppose it was his intention to leave the

[34] The Steuarts were a prominent family and had a large place, "Maryland Square," in west Baltimore, as well as a farm at Sparrow's Point. Another daughter, Margaret, was the first Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe.

children of his daughter at the mercy of so mercenary a consideration. I urge you, my dear Uncle, to give me *prompt and explicit information.* My resolution is irrevocably taken. I have left my father's house. . . .

The final letter in the entire correspondence reveals a happy conclusion to the sudden discord. The father consented to the engagement with Miss Steuart, and George selected journalism as a career. Soon afterwards he became an editor of the *Baltimore American*, and the marriage took place in 1829.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Baltimore, May 30, 1828]

I was much gratified a few days ago by the reception of your affectionate letter. You had not then received my letter informing you of the fortunate termination of the difference with my father and of my happiness in the accomplishment of my long cherished hopes. Your advice in regard to occupation is entirely in accordance with my own resolutions and wishes. In this country where the freedom of the press and our popular institutions give so much influence to journals and periodical publications of all kinds, a career is open to those who have received a liberal education without having directed their studies to any particular profession. I am at this moment endeavouring to form a connexion with some established journal; an establishment of this kind is capable of being made quite productive, and my acquaintance with French and German enable me to give to such a one some advantage over most others. The produce of the land is so very low in price that there is no inducement to become farmer; and besides my education and tastes make an occupation of a literary character more desirable for me. . . .

You are kind enough to ask me to give you a minute description of Miss Steuart. I don't know whether you will be satisfied with the one I gave you in my last letter. Her eyes [are] of a light hazel color large and clear neither remarkable for extreme softness nor extreme brilliancy but variable and mildly reflecting her thoughts and feelings; her eyebrows and hair are dark of a silky softness and contrast beautifully with the transparent whiteness of her expressive forehead. In her person she is short; her figure is neat and her whole *tournesse* remarkably pleasing and graceful. Among strangers she would be always called very pretty, but those who know her are not satisfied with such an everyday expression. . . .

Another generation started its housekeeping, and the Stier strain from Belgium was merged almost completely into the American scene it had first met thirty-one years before.[35]

[35] George Henry Calvert became a poet and essayist of note. He went abroad for three years, 1840-43, and on his return established his home in Newport, R. I. He served for some time as chairman of the Newport School Committee, and he was Democratic Mayor of the city, 1853-54. He wrote many lyric and narrative poems, delivered public addresses on political and literary themes, and devoted his later years to the translation of old-world culture to the new.

LETTERS OF THE HAYNIE FAMILY

Edited by Doris Maslin Cohn

Some eighteenth century letters between two brothers on the Eastern Shore were published not long ago in this Magazine—letters from Dr. Ezekiel Haynie to his brother, Martin Luther Haynie. These men were affectionate brothers and sincerely interested in each other, their families and friends. They had been educated at that famous school on Back Creek, Somerset County, later called the Washington Academy. We felt inclined to praise their resolution to continue reading the classics while we envied their apparent leisure to do so. However, restlessness and ambition went hand in hand in those days as in ours, and Dr. Ezekiel wished to leave Snow Hill for a more active place, while Martin gave up teaching to practice medicine. Along with the correspondence between the brothers were found letters of family and friends which throw further light on them and their age. Since we are once more embarked on war perhaps it will be fitting to start with a Post-Revolution letter from veteran Richard Pindell, Surgeon in the Maryland Line, to his old Mate, Dr. Ezekiel Haynie.[1]

To Doctor Ezekiel Haynie

Snow Hill Worcester County

han'd by
Mr. Handy.

Hagar's Town Oct. 19th 1790

Dear Sir,

The various occurances that happened during the long & ardent contest we were mutually engaged in for Liberty, and the many habits of intimacy contracted with people from every Clime, are frequently revolved in my mind. When the Endearments of Domestic life, the Bustle of Business afford no Counterpoise,—and the transactions of 79 & 80 being as you observe, the most gloomy Season of the Contest, never failed to bring back to my Remembrance the Placid, Phylosophic & engageing manner of my Friend Doctor Haynie, to whom I was so much indebted for Assistance in the line of his Profession, in the Unhealthy & war-worn Clime of South Carolina, & whose company & conversation always afforded the utmost Satisfaction.

[1] A group of the Haynie letters appeared in this Magazine, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (June, 1941). Some letters of Dr. Pindell, found among the Society's General Otho H. Williams Papers, have been published in Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Dec., 1923).

The various pursuits of this life, in which every one of us have necessarily taken part, to obtain that Competency so essential to our well being in this world, and which is, or ought to be, the reward of those only, whose exertions to acquire it & be useful to their fellow men are unremitted—will I fear prevent that happy renewal of our freindships contracted in the Army & which the establishment of the Cincinnati Society was designed to Obviate—This Institution "how fine in Theory but in practice how Absurd" cannot prevent your Predictions & this gives full form to the Sentiment of the Poet

Of joys departed not to return
How Painful the Remembrance

Indulging in these reflections, which your letter has excited in a great degree, fill my Soul with sensations & emotions, not in my power to describe, but which affords a pleasing Melancholy.

At the time Mr. Martin [Haynie] was in town, I was so engaged in Practice, which at that time was more extended than it generally is, & my attendance on my Dear Wife in the Straw with her 4th Child, (for like yourselves you may learn that we have not been defective in Procreation) that I could not pay him the respect I wished—& which he was entitled to, as a Genteel Stranger, had he not brought me the first information of my friend Dr. Haynie, by him I should have written you, had he not left Town sooner than I expected, & in my letter you would likely have received some of the same kind of lashing you have bestowed on me for the Omission, tho' am now convinced it would have been improperly done.

I must in the most Summary manner endeavour to give you a sketch of my Adventures & form answers to your Queries, & you must excuse the imperfections of them as Mr. Handy can inform you that I have had but few spare hours since he arrived. After attending a course of Medical Lectures in Phil. in 1783 & 4, I settled here the August following, and experienced much difficulty in getting into business, owing to 2 causes, 1st the Great Number of Phisicians & Physical Pretenders & 2dly to the Inhabitants being chiefly composed of Germans, whose language was unknown to me. I however have persevered with fortitude until a tollerable prospect of living genteely, has made its appearance, but none of becoming Opulent. I have been so frugal as to preserve my finals, which funded, agreeable to the late law of Congress will bring me in about £75 pr Annum Int. this with making a few Hhds. of Tobo. & the rent of a small Farm in Annarundel, will help to make up the deficiencies in the Practice. It would give me infinate Satisfaction, was it in my power to invite you to a good stand for Practice in either of the Counties you Mention, but know of no 10 miles Square in either of them void of many at least Pretenders to Medical knowledge. In the County above us, about Fort Cumberland & Old Town, ther is no regular Physician, & I have no doubt but a tollerable living might be made there, but the rides would be long & of course the Practice very Onerose. The County is lately laid off from this, & the County Town will in time be considerable as it will

be situated somewhere on the Patowmack headwaters. I do not think it however a very inviting position for you at Present, but if you are inclined to view it come over as soon as you can, for you know how Numerous Physicians are becoming. I have never seen Warfield or Rec'd the Scrip of a Pen from him since the beginning of the year 1784, he lives on James River & I have often heard is doing well. There being no direct communication from hence to his neighborhood, or should have endeavored to establish a Correspondance with him, as I also entertain the most friendly Sentiments of him & wish him every happiness.

I am happy to hear all our Army Acquaintances in your Vicinity are in a Respectable & thriving line of life, I esteem them all exceedingly, & especially Ewing whose extreme sufferings have made him more Dear to me as they were more immediately under my Cognizance. Please present them all my best Compts. when you see them.

I am sorry that Denwood, who has one of the Best hearts, should thus idle away the prime of life. I think it high time indeed that he had determined on something—business will be very irksome after such a long habit of inaction.

I can give you but a very defective acct. of the Officers on this Shore, I have not even visited my Own Sister within 70 miles this 2 years—& there are few living in our District. Capt. John Lynn Married—a late Member of Assembly for this County, lives in Cumberland & is a Candidate for the Clerk's Office in the new Coty. David Lynn single, in Montgomery. Mc.Guire of Virga. whom you assisted me in doing by force, what his want of fortitude prevented his submitting to Willingly—has Studied Law & is a very promising young man, lives in Winchester. Tom Price Lately dead of Nervous fever in Loudohn Coty.[2] Old Benny Price a Widower in bad circumstances. Hardman the same Erratic Genius he ever was—Drinks Grog—Chews Tobo. Smoaks—Angles—fowles—Sleeps—Eats & sleeps agan—Single, lives in Fredk. but is often at Gentlemens Houses in the County. Capts. Belt & Spurrier Both married my neices live in Elk Ridge Landing—both I hope doing well. Major Brooke a widower become very lusty, lives at Marlbro. Lt. Smith has just passed thru this place on his way to Cumberland to view the lands given the Officers & Soldiers, he tells me that Major Beall & Capt. Mc.Pherson are well, Freeman is at Baltimore—Colo. Mentzer the Inspector passed thru this place to the Western Army & says Freeman has a very fine Company. Mark Mc.Pherson his Lieut. fond of Grog—has been arrested twice by his Capt.[3] His Excellency Genl. Washington, honored this Town with a Short Visit a few Evenings past, all the honors & Respect was paid him that we unpolished back woods-men could invent. Mr Handy can give you particulars.

The land in general given to the Officers & Soldiers above Fort Cumberland are scarcely worth acceptance. These are some Lots that are however

[2] Loudoun County, Virginia.

[3] For identification of nearly all these officers see *Archives of Maryland*, XVIII, 518-522, where the services of officers of the Maryland Line are recorded.

an exception to the general cast—which they are, I have never been able to learn. Those Lots laid out for the Soldiers are (if anything) of better quality. Mr. Smith has several of the Officers Numbers with him & intends to View the Lands particularly, on his return I may be able to give better information, which I will certainly do by the first Oppty. If you will enclose me your numbers I will endeavour to have it ascertained what quality they are of. Smith says he has been offered 3/9 per acre for his—they can be purchased here from 4 to 9 Dollars pr. Lott. I will be happy in giving any of them such information as can be acquired if they will enclose me their Numbers.

I have Scribbled on until my letter exceeds the length of yours which I shall not apologize for, expecting that you like myself will catch greedily every sentence & wish form did not prescribe a Single Sheet or so in communications between friends.

I find your Friend Mr. Handy exactly the Gentleman you describe—I have spent some agreeable hours with him, tho not as many as my Inclination craved. I hope however that my Profession will be a sufficient apology.

It will be infinately pleasing to have a line from you as often as you have leisure—I have so few correspondants that I have almost forgot how to write a letter—I have not time now to say anything on Physic or Surgery.

I have performed several Capitol Operations since I resided here, and all except the last terminated well—The unfortunate one was the Application of the Trepan last week to remove Symptoms of Oppressed Brain brought on by a fractured Skuill with Depression, which had been of too long standing to receive much benefit from the Operation. The Patient died a few days after the Operation.

I am Dr. Sir with the greatest
Sincerely Your friend & H. Servt.
R. Pindell

Now here is a sprightly Lady! Three years at the frontier of Kentucky have not dimmed her spirit nor slowed her tongue, and her instinct for news transcends her facility for spelling. One wonders if Dr. Ezekiel's answer ever reached her.

[Anne James to her husband's nephew.]

Woodford Kentucky
25 March 1793

Dr. Sir,

If I have not mistaken my authority, you must be the Gent. who when in your studies of Physic lived with Doctr. Thos James decd. of Charles County Maryland to whom I was wife; and I his widow now living in

the above County in the State of Kentucky. The young Doctr. was the Son of Samuel Haynie who married Judith James sister to the above dec'd Doctr. Should you be the same Gent. & have not entirely forgotten me I will take it a singular favor if you will write to me with information of your health condition &c &c &c.

I have lived in Kentucky almost three years and yet live in a dirty smoaky cabbin, But thank God a plenty of good meat and bread &c. Theresa is married to a James Twyman from Virginia and will live within ¾ of a mile when he settles. He is a Protestant I believe, tho' I have doubts whether he is anything & I suppose you will wonder how I ever came to give my consent, as you know I was formerly much aversed to such marriages; but the saying is, I gave my consent when obliged. He is a man very fond of talking, but fond as he is I have lately become so very inquisitive & full of talk that I wear his patience intirely out very often. My youngest Son Joseph James is at present at School endeavoring to prepare himself for one of the proffesional Studies. I have thought of Physic, but he inclines to Law. I will take it a favor for your opinion. If you should write to me and as letters frequently miscarry I'll thank you to write the same thing several times by which means I perhaps shall get your opinion.

My family Join me in love to your & family
and I am Dr. Sir

Yr. Obt. Servt.

Ann James

Dr. Ezekiel Haynie
Eastern Shore Maryland
Mr. Fenwick.

The good Doctor's wife was Betsy Bayly, sister of Josiah Bayly who had gone to Cambridge to practice law. He seems to slightly discourage his brother-in-law from a trek in the same direction. Like the field at Hager's Town, there were too many in the race.

Cambridge Aug, 16 1793

Dear Brother,

Enclosed you will receive answers to the queries contained in your letters. A certain Doct. White has engaged the only vacant house in Town. Birckheads is sold. I mentioned your proposal to Mr. Gordon he has written over to Mr. Crookshanks & has received an answer. Mr. C. says he will take your offer and Mr. Moncrieff is ready to join in the conveyance, Mr. crookshanks had rather that one year should be left from the credit if convenient to you, if not he will take you at your own proposal. I have not yet examined the title papers but am informed by Gordon the title is good. I have the papers in my possession and will examine them when I have leisure.

Miss Ennals who has a life estate in ½ is about 66 years old, what will you give her for her life estate either as a purchase or rent? Mr Gordon informs me that £150 has been offered for the rent of the whole farm next year, possession will be given next new years day.

3 Doctors are about to settle in Cambridge on hearing of Birckhead's intention of leaving it.

Mr. Gordon wishes you to write me an answer by the first opportunity.

Yours affectionately

Josiah Bayly

Vienna Aug' '21st

Doctor Ezekiel Haynie
Snow Hill

December, 1793, brought a break in the Haynie clan which was far-reaching in its effect. Brother Richard, whose wife had died shortly before, falls victim to the winter winds. A description of this risk of seasonal change has been omitted. Between the brothers Ezekiel and Martin there was often an exchange of thoughtful reasoning as to cause and effect that is too long for these pages. The two infant children of Richard, Martin Jr. and Leah, stayed with " our Old Mamma " until her death when Uncle Martin had the care of them and must have been an harassed over-seer.

Notice at the end of the letter that John Smith's medicine is being delivered by the jugful. Isn't that a sympathetic Doctor! Something of a psychiatrist, as well as adept at bleeding.

Doct. Martin L. Haynie
at Salisbury
by Jacob

Snow Hill 19th dec. 1793

Dear Brother,

The event mentioned in your letter would have been a matter of unfeigned grief to me had I been informed beforehand of its approach, but it was rendered more poignant by the surprise which accompanied the information of it. I knew he was in a bad state of health, but when I saw him at Somerset Court (& I had no information from him since) altho' he seemed to have the Symptoms of a Catarrh yet I had no apprehension for his life, and especially as I knew he had Survived several attacks apparently of the same nature. His death furnishes an addidtional Instance . . . [torn]. Such persons cannot be too cautious in avoiding too much exposure at the first setting in of Winter. . . .

My distance as it deprived me of attending during his illness and of mingling my Sorrows with those of his other Friends on the occasion of his burial, so it will I hope apologize for my not going up immediately on receiving your letter.

This is a Season of much indespensable engagement at all times with me, and at present I am a good deal occupied with my Practice in addition to domestic cares.

I shall try to get to Somerset the last of this or the first of next week. In the meantime write me by Jacob's return whatever is interesting in the State of the Family.

I have not seen Doct. Purnell for a week & therefore can give no account of your Books. The 3 jugs for John Smith I have directed Jacob to leave with you as also the note directed to him.

Betsy as usual is unwell & I have symptoms of a slight Catarrh.

Affectionately
yr. Brother
E. Haynie.

The following letter of professional advice is given in full for the sake of medical readers; laymen may skip the nauseous doses.

Doct. Martin L. Haynie
Salisbury by Mr. Fenwick.

Dear Brother,

You sometime ago requested information of my rates of charging, and I should have furnished you with it sooner if I had not hoped to have had it in my power to have accommpanied it with some general remarks (the result of Practical Observation) respecting the Pathognomonick or discriminating Symptoms of some of the more abstruse Diseases—principal sourses from which curative indications are drawn in them—and means which are most likely to fulfill those indications, with such other hints as my small stock of Medical Ideas would have enabled me to give. Hitherto however I have not enjoyed as much leisure as would be required to complete such a design, and as it may be useful to you to have some sort of directory in the business of charging at your first getting out, I shall set down such articles with my usual Charges anexed as occur at present—what is omitted may be mentioned at another time.

Fees for Visits in Town. If one only to a person who is not a customer 3/9 in day—out of bed at night 7/6. To customers a charge in Gross for attendance according to the trouble & times about 22/6 per week, visits twice a day. Single visits not charged.[4]

In the country. Under 5 miles 7/6, from 5 to 8 miles 10/, from 8 to 10 miles 12/6, from 10 to 12—15/, 12 to 15—20/, 15 to 20 from 25/ to 30/. After which the proportion of charge to the distance is increased, as long absence from home and from neighborhood custom is both disagreeable and disadvantageous. All night Visits double & bad weather is a reason for additional charge. Detention beyond the time necessary to examine the case and give directions also a good ground of

[4] The charges are in shillings and pence.

charge, tho I have not often availed myself of it. It is however done by others.

Emetics—in all forms and of all kinds & for all ages 2/6. Carthartics—generally the same if common dose. Rhou-salts & Manna and perhaps some others will bear a small addition. Tule, Carb. Pow. com. 5/ to 6/. Rub. 8/6 fl. oz. All Febrifuge Powders however compounded if cash Fever Mixtures (of neutralized salts &c) if above 3 or 4 oz. in a vial about 1/. oz. for a small quantity more in proportion—the smallest Vial or a single dose 2/6. Spirit. Volatil—Sal Volital—Nitric Dule—Elix—Paragoric—Laudanum—and all such Medicines 2/6 by the single dose or from 3/9 to 5/ the oz. Tint. Volatil 2/ fl. oz. Tint. Camphorat Saponaceum Tint. Myrrh are about 5/ for a 6 or 7 oz. Vial. Atoctic and other Purging Pills about 15d. or 18d. fl. dose—in large boxes about 3d. or 4d. a Pill. Single Pill of any Opium or such like 1/6. Largest Epispastic (such as is applied to the side in Pleurisy) 7/6, smaller to the limbs 3/9, least 2/6. Digestive or other Unguents fl. oz. 2/6. Ung. Mercurial com. 3/9 fl. oz. Venegution in the arm 3/ in feet 3/9. Extractg. Tooth 5/. Openg. Absess (about) 3/9. Dressing common flesh wd. 2/6 to 3/9. Reducing Dislocations of Do. nearly the same prices. Consultations with one or more Physicians a Guinea—Conference with Do. (a nice distinction applied to slighter cases, where there is no need for a formal consultation, or have been consulted before in the same case) about 7/6 to 17/6. Administering Glyster 5/. Tinct Antiscorbat (Tint. Myrrh with a little Pub. Cort. Peru. & Marine acid added) oz. 5/ elix Vitriol Oz. 3/9 Eliz. Parag. 3 oz. 3/9. Pub. Spermatoti oz. 3/9. Manna oz. 3/9. Ag. Opthal oz. 2/6 Rao. Colomb. oz. 5/ to 7/6.—From these you will easily come pretty near the rate of almost all the other articles. I cannot answer that these are just correspondant to the general charges, but I may safely assert that taken one article with another, they will be found as low as the common & much below many in our part of the Country.

A person from Philadelphia brings papers by which it appears that the Gallic Republicans have completely defeated the Combined Enemy in a very general engagement, the British Army is said to be quite broken up, One Acct. says the Duke of York is carried to Paris prisoner.

I am very anxious to see the particulars by the arrival of the Post on Friday. We are pretty healthy in this neighborhood—there is a family a little way below, ill of the Dysentery a very uncommon Disease at this Season.

Betsy keeps up but is generally complaining. If you wish to write to Phila. Mr. Whittington will be going up next week.

farewell, E. Haynie.

Snow Hill, 22d. Jany. 1794

Esme Bayly, father-in-law of Dr. Ezekiel Haynie, is evidently paving the way for the long talked of move from Snow Hill, and

the chosen place is the Somerset county seat, Princess Anne. Since the Baylys lived on the Wicomico River near Quantico we may well believe the 15 miles to Court were often impossible. It meant ferrying on a small flat boat (a practice still continued, if one takes the old route) a splash through marshy land covered twice a day by tides and then miles through deep sand in pine forest. " Mr. Jackson " has not been identified. " Beckford," the beautiful brick house west of the town limits of Princess Anne, was built by Henry Jackson in 1776 and has been for 50 years in the Dr. Lankford family; in 1812 Charlotte Haynie speaks of " visiting Mrs. Handy in the house my father & mother lived in." This would be the charming frame house opposite the box garden on Main St., the late home of Mrs. John Dale.

Wicomico January 24th 1794

Dear Sir, . . . I delivered your letter to Mr. Jackson, after he read it he said " that he could not think of abating any part of the amount " after a short conversation on the subject I informed him, you would give the £37.10. I requested him to write you a line, which he promised to do by the next Tuesday, but every Tuesday since has been such weather that I have been absent from Princess Anne. He enquired of me when you intended to remove and observed that he must have information in time to prepare himself for removing, and that it would be inconvenient for him to remove before the first of April at any rate. I told him, that I expected the first of April would be as early as you could be ready to take the house, (he mentioned at the close of conversation that he was afraid if his family continued to be sickly as heretofore he should have very little money to receive, this by the by) I have informed you of the conversation between Mr. Jackson and myself, therefore if you think of taking his house at the time mentioned or any other time you will please let him know it, The Garden will be attended to in the same manner as tho' he was to continue, he did say that if you did not take the house he should not think of removing before the Fall. I beg you not to fail writing to him by the first opportunity. On the 13th of this Inst. I sent James B. to Cambridge, by the boy I received a letter from Josiah, he is well & sent 2 books for you, but does not mention any intention of going to Phila. Wm. Dashiell has procured an order on me for £7.10 to be paid you on his account, have not the Cash at present, or should send it by this opportunity. We are in usual health, my tender love to Betsy, and am with great esteem

Your Affectionate
Esme Bayly

Doctr. Ezekiel Haynie
Snow Hill
by Mr. Fenwick

With what joy and pride does this letter go forth to beloved Brother Martin and how nice to perpetuate Brother Richard's name, especially as Brother Richard had named his son "Martin L., II." Yet with this same Richard Hambden did the name die. The only son to live to manhood, he followed his father's footsteps and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. As a son of a Revolutionary officer, he became a member of the Washington Association of Philadelphia.

Snow Hill, 6th Feby, 1794

Dear brother,

I take the opportunity by a Negro of Capt. Winder's to tell you that we had a fine Boy born this day week, and that Betsy is as well as is usual, and indeed better than is common to others, or herself on former occasions of the Kind. I have concluded to call him Richard Hambden in order to restore a name to the Family which appears to have been early in use in it, and which is, and I believe will long remain dear to our particular branch of it at any rate with me it is so, and by annexing the name Hambden to point the attention of my son to a Character which appears to me an excellent model of Private and Public Virtue, but chiefly distinguished by an eminent and unshaken zeal for the Civil Rights and happiness of his Country.

I should be glad could you find an early moment to give to our Old Mother this information, for you know with what sincerity & sensibility she participates in everything connected with the wellbeing of her Children and Friends.

. . . We have met with a small misfortune by fire two days ago. Mr. Morris's Smoke-house containing our Bacon as well as his own, fire some how communicated to the meat as it hung (most likely by a piece dropping off the sticks into it) and injured the whole, but it was discovered in time to save the greater part from being so hurt as to be unfit to bring to Table. Perhaps the loss may be estimated at one third of the whole, of which two thirds happened to be his, our loss is consequently about 1/6 of what we had. But it ought not to be mentioned in comparison with the loss sustained by Capt. James Houston who it is confidently reported in Town, has had his Dwelling and almost every other house burned down with very little Salvage even of clothes and bedding. If this account be near the truth with his recourses, the loss is irretrievable. I had thought of requesting you, if convenient to carry Esme up to Mama's but as I expect to bring him home in a short time, it will not be worth while unless it could be done very soon. The poor old creature had requested me to let one of the Children stay with her a while some time this winter.

I think you may take an opportunity to come down and see our Son in a

short time. I do not know if a visit was to be made expressly to him, but folk as insignificant have been shown that much respect.

I am Affectionately

yr, Brother E. Haynie

Doctr. Martin L. Haynie
Salisbury
by Capt. Winder's boy

Half way to the Capital, Philadelphia, and no delays. What exciting news he passes back! That city is a seething whirlpool of emotions, Washington is serving his second term as President, Gallic Republicans under Citizen Genêt make noisy uproar, England protests her captured ships being taken there by the French. Which side is America on, or by whom will she be invaded? With it all, as usual the prices of necessities rise. But Mrs. Haynie will have a new chaise for the move to Princess Anne.

Dover 11th March 1794

My Dear Betsy,

I have reached this place without any accident or obstruction. My horse hitherto has performed very well, and the Roads are not to be complained of, tho' they tell me I shall find them worse tomorrow. I hope however to reach Phila. by dinner time on Thursday.

Very interesting news is received here from Phila.—It is said that England has directed her Minister to demand of this Country which side of the question we mean to take in the War, as they are determined we shall remain no longer Neutral and that in consequence, Congress have voted to find 5000 Men on the frontier next Canada and the Lakes, and to put all Harbers in a state of defense. I believe this news may be depended on, and doubt whether it may not affect the prices of Goods so much as to disappoint me in my expectation of getting many of the articles I want, and especially as I hear every mechantile operation is suspended in Philadelphia. Shipping business I mean. I expected it would be an interesting period in Congress, but it will probably be much more so than I had expected. Take my dear, the earliest opportunity to let my brother [Martin] know. I have bespoke a carriage for him in Milford. I have also bespoke a Chaise for you which I have reason to believe will be as cheap and elegant as I could have got in Phila.

My Cold is still, in a slight degree, troublesome, but perhaps not worse than when I left home,—I shall endeavour to hasten my return as much as possible and shall likely anticipate the time I mentioned.

It will gratify my good neighbor, Mr. Morris, to get the above informa-

tion. I wish you, therefore to let him see it. The papers I am told, contain no mention of it.

I am my dear Betsy with
unceasing Affection & love

E. Haynie

Mrs. Betsy Haynie
Snowhill

What an upsetting time moving is! Hard to get one's thoughts straight, particularly when one is trying to shop for a brother and influence his decision. A chaise top takes nearly three hundred words and isn't settled, world politics are disposed of in a single sentence. Moving by land meant 25 miles thru the " Forest," that black region at the head of Pocomoke, river of black water. A difficult road for a handsome new chaise. Moving by water meant loading a sail boat at Snow Hill, going down past Steven's Ferry and Rehoboth to the Sound, and, rounding Watkin's point, turning north to the Manokin and so on up past " Clifton," "Almodington " and the other fine houses until the channel narrows through the marshes and the head of navigation was reached at Princess Anne, over 75 miles.

Snow hill 27th Mar. 1794

Dear Brother,

I returned from Philad.a. on Tuesday Evening having made a longer stay than I expected when I left home. On my way up I bespoke a Windsor Chair [chaise] for you, of which I am told you have been informed. If I recollect when you were speaking of getting one you did not mention a Top to it for which reason, and because in my own judgement they are much handsomer and better without, I did not direct a Top to be made to it I however asked him if he could make a Top to it after the other part was done, (as it was possible you might like to have it with one) he said he could. Mr Morris says you want a Top. If you think it absolutely necessary I will write up to him to add a Top before it is brought down, which will delay a fortnight at least longer and add (I think) 10 or 12 Dolls. to the price. I agreed with the Man to make a Chaise for me also, and being desirous to engage custom in this part of the Country he agreed to take off £2.10 from the price of the Stool. I agreed to give him £20. cash and it was to be ready to bring by next Tuesday week. I had engaged the Post to bring it down. On reconsidering it perhaps you may agree to have it without a Top. I should certainly prefer it without, as they are beyond all doubt as ugly as anything can be, and are getting out of use. Perhaps an oilcloth great-coat would be deemed a substitute as convenient and less expensive. But should you determine in favor of a

Top I will write up to him to make one. I obtained nearly all the Articles I intended getting in Phil. most of them at an advanced price. I have not time by this conveyance to say anything on Politics. Col. Handy can tell you all I collected. The first of next week I must begin Moving, tho I have not yet determined whether by land or water. Tell Col. Handy if you see him, that poor Mr. Chaille is nearly in the situation he left him yesterday.

Betsy is so well as to be abroad making her valedictory visits. Moving is a disagreeable thing.

Farewell! E Haynie

Doct. Martin Haynie
Salisbury . . .
Mr. Smith.

Two years pass without any record to show us how the Haynies fared in their new home. The brothers were close enough to keep in touch by visits. Then in 1796 come the following four family letters that explain themselves and continue the story. Betsy's young brother, Thomas Bayly, attends to commissions en route to Princeton (where he graduated on Oct. 5th, 1797). His father, Esme Bayly, writes with affectionate pride; the older brother, Josiah Bayly, apologizes to brother-in-law Ezekiel for not inviting him to his wedding, and Dr. Ezekiel gives facetious admonitions to student Thomas.

Princeton January 2 1796

Dear Sir,

It is with pleasure that I execute a performance (after having neglected it) which should have been done some time ago, that is writing you word concerning my preceedings about your affairs. I entered Philadelphia the Thursday after my departure from home, and the next day by the assistance of a directory easily found the residence of Mr. Polk who was so indisposed that he was confined to his room, and gave the directions, which you sent for a saddle and accouterments, to the foreman of his shop. Both Friday and Saterday morning I went down to the wharf which you directed me to, and also to many others & inquired for vessels from any way near Snow Hill, but could hear of none, therefore as I could neither find Mr. Fenwick thought it most expedient to leave directions at Mr. Polk's in order that they might know where and in whose care to send the saddle. The money which you sent was all expended in purchasing the saddle bridle and stirrups, which you will see from the receipt within. The Latin Grammar which you requested me to send is with the saddle.

My delay in Philadelphia was very short, only staying from Thursday evening to Saturday morning, and being entirely unacquainted in the city, had but a poor opportunity of seeing any of those entertaining sights which from report had raised my curiosity. Saturday evening I arrived at

Princeton where I have been confined constantly without the least excursion from the walls of the Colledge except to Church. It gives me great satisfaction and joy that it fell to my good fortune to come to this seminary, which in my judgment is calculated to send forth a well educated Youth, provided they will pay due attention to their studies.

I remain your humble and sincere friend

Thos. Bayly

Doct. Ezekiel Haynie
MARYLAND
Somerset County
Princess Anne per post

Wicomico 5th March 1796

My Dear Son,

Your favour of the 27th December post came safe to hand. Also yours to Dr. Haynie which fully satisfied him. It gives me inexpressable pleasure that you are now placed at the fountain of Science, out of which I hope with Divine blessing that you will draw a pleantiful draught. Your Mamma is much better than she was when you left her, though she is yet poorly, your other relations are all pretty well; in my last I hinted that your brother was addressing Miss Lockerman; now can tell you it is concluded on and will take place unless prevented by some unforseen accident. And as you are entitled to my confidence must acquaint you that your sister Patience is on the eve of marrying Col. Done. Josiah has bought a lot in Cambridge & intends building immediately, his proffesional practice last year was worth £700 therefore you may take encouragement & pursue your Studies with ardour do not neglect to write me and let me know how you are in health, your progress in College &ct.

May the Supreme Being govern guide and keep you in the paths of virtue and bless you is the prayer of

My dear son

Your affect.n. father

Esme Bayly

Salis; 5th Mar.
Mr. Thomas Bayly
Student at
Princeton College
Post N. Jersey

Easton April 14 1796

Dear Sir,

I received yours by Mr. Dashiell & shall attend to your request with pleasure. I have not yet seen Erskine—but Corner is at present in a State of insanity.

I expect on the 26th instant to be ranked among the number of the grave and sedate—a hope thence forward to become a more useful citizen, & more happy man—from which nothing can preclude me but want of health or poverty. I should be very happy to have had the pleasure of your company & intended to have asked you but Mr. Lockerman has moved in the Country to an old house containing only three rooms, so Mrs. Lockerman has informed me it is out of her power to accommodate company for the want of room, the house is also in bad repair. No person is expected by the family but their own members. I hope my good intentions will supply everything else. We expect to be down next month. My friendship for you in particular made me very desirous to have your personal attendance, but am sorry it cannot be done for the reasons afrd. The hurry of business prevents me from enlarging much more fully to you than I have done.

Yours with affection & respect,

Josiah Bayly

Doctor Ezekiel Haynie

Princess Anne 28th July 1796

Dear Sir,

After looking a long time for a letter from you in vain, and reproaching you very justly for your neglect, I had the satisfaction to receive yours of the 4th of last month. I believe you know that I am pretty rigid and do not readily admit trivial excuses for neglect by which I myself am sufferer. And I had hoped that your acquaintance with my disposition in this respect would have secured to me greater exertions on your part, if it were only to avoid being abused, but I suppose you count upon your close application to your Scholastic duties to stand in the place of Charity in a Religious sense and cover a multitude of venial offences. And I am ready to confess that if any apology would palliate the offence in question it is that. Yet I am not willing to admit that to carry its operation further than as a mere palliative.

As to your barrenness of matter that excuse is wholly inadmissable, unless you suppose that I have no relish for any of the various subjects on which you are daily acquiring new and interesting ideas. To me it would seem that from the nature of your pursuits, your mind must be in a state of plethora (as we speak) and consequently, that you would embrace with eagerness every opportunity of disburthening it. If you will allow me to be a little more grave on the occasion I will tell you that I consider writing letters to intelligent friends as a source of improvement in composition & stile by no means so contemptible as to be unworthy the notice of a Candidate for literary eminence. It gives one an easy (for ease you know is the essence of Epistolary excellence) agreeable and useful exercise to the intellectual powers—assists us in the art of combining our ideas with propriety as well as in forming out stile, and I will add, discharges a duty we owe to our friends. Of some of these reasons I am sure you will

feel the force, and therefore I shall expect to find the benefit of my logick in the effects of it in your future conduct.

Your industrious turn of mind and ambition for distinction have been a source of pleasing anticipation of your future progress, and to your Father (whose ruling passion you know is to see his Sons virtuously distinguished) as well as all your other friends, among whom I think I have some claim to rank myself. We consider them as a sure pledge of your making the utmost advantage of your present means of improvement, as well as an infallible presage of future usefulness.

The regulations of a Seminary which has been under the direction of so many able and zealous heads can scarcely fail to be excellent, and therefore to meet the approbation of all the sober and well-judging Youths in the School. There are in all Schools some idle refractory boys who naturally enough, regard every regulation which imposes diligence or restraint from irregularities as hard and oppressive. And indeed with respect to such the wisest regulations must fail in their object.

Your present Studies, the different branches of the mathematics, form a very large as well as important part of scientifick learning. I am glad to hear that you are pleased with them—and as you seem to me to possess a genious fitted for them I cannot doubt but you will enter to such depths into the principles as to make them your own, and not merely skip along the surface, and to know no more about them in two or three years than of the Chinese hieroglyphicks, as is the case of three out of four of the Graduates of Colleges of my acquaintance. You do well to say to yourself emphatically "now is the time"—! Keep a single eye to this and your point is gained. The prize you are contending for is nothing less than distinction founded on the solid basis of superior attainments and superior usefulness. To a mind impressed and almost absorbed as yours is by so noble an Object any sacrifice of ease pleasures or amusements will not deserve a moments concern. Leave these to those ignoble and worthless beings who are content to grovel in obscurity and linger out a life of insignificance, and who see not that this is precisely the time in this infant but rising Nation to do anything a man pleases by industry. I often reflect how much the crisis favors the gratification of such views as yours but I have not time to place the enchanting prospects which the scene before you affords, in your view your own contemplations will do it better.

We have seen the speech delivered by Forsyth on the 4th July if it is Doct Smith's composition it is unworthy of his pen. I could make many criticisms, but admit that it is easier to find fault than to excell. The concluding Oath however, is in my opinion, to say the least, an ill judged mimicry of Treilhards speech in the assembly of France. There is something in it too violent for the calm state of things and the sober turn of mind in this country.

That the present President's System of Moral Phylosophy should superseed that of Withers . . . [page torn]

I felicitate you on your good luck in . . . The sum you mention will

buy you . . . -rable library. But you are speculating . . . lottery where I hope you will draw . . . inestimable prize. I think Esme . . . -king a pretty good progress in the Latin he . . . fond of school. Your Father has . . . told you of your brother and sister's marriages.

Your Mother had a pretty bad attack of fever some days ago, but has gotten better again. The rest of your friends are I believe well.

From what your Father mentioned to me I expect the pleasure of seeing you this Fall.

Betsy sends her love to you as usual as does also

Your Affectionate

Ezekiel Haynie

Mr Thomas Bayly
Student at Princeton
College
New Jersey
via Post 12½

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, June, 1943, page 191)

Gent

Inclosed I send you the first of Mr Robert Lloyds Bills of Exchange on yourselves for five hundred and forty Eight Pounds Ten Shillings and five Pence Sterling which Please to Carry to the Credit of My Account.

I am Gentlemen yr M hble Servant

Maryland August 26th 1768 — C. Carroll

To Messrs William and James Anderson Merchants in London — ℔ Capt. Richardson ℔ Captain Smith

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Gentlemen/

I have Lodged at Wye Ready for McLachlan against he arrives Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron which will be Shipped in his Ship to you as I may not have hereafter Good opportunitys for writing for Insurance on him I now Desire you will make it on his Ship for me in Case of Loss for Three hundred and forty Pounds sterling. I sent you by Captain Richardson in Mr Graves Employ and by Captain Smith in Mr Buchanans Employ the first and second of Mr Robert Lloyds Bills Drawn Payable to Mr Matthew Tilghman on yourselves and by him Endorsed to me for five hundred forty Eight Pounds Ten shillings and five Pence Sterling which shall be Glad youl Let me Know by the first opportunity whether Come to Hand I Do not Doubt there being Good and shall have occasion to Draw on you to Mr Nicholas Maccubbin for about two hundred Pounds Sterling and to Mr Clemt Brooke our Clerk at the Baltimore Works for one hundred Pounds Sterling for my share of our Company Goods besides some other small Bills for Quit Rents and Clerks Salaries in all to the amount of about one hundred Pounds Sterling which Please to pay as they Come to Hand

Send me also by the first Ship the Contents of the undermentioned Invoice. My wife Desires her Cousin will make Choice of

the Cotton, or silk and Cotton mentioned or what ever she sends Her for a Gown as it is for her own winter wear.

The Large waiter I write for she Calculates will Hold Eight or Ten Tea Cups and Saucers and is for a Tea Waiter The small one is to stand in the middle of a Table to support a Dish as the Cross or X Lamps do not suit well must have a Genteel Cup or Pillar of Like the Glass stands used for Deserts. The Cups are for Drinking small Beer or Rhenish. Glasses are Continually Breaking in my Invoice of the 21st of July I wrote for Quarter Chests of Lemons only. They Half Rotted before we Could use them. But now we have away of making Shrub that will Keep and I Desire you will send me half Chests one by your first ship in the Spring, the other by your Last in the fall, Those you sent me by Criamer were half Pillaged out of the Chest thro' what they Called a Rat Hole. So I Desire they may Come by your own ships or one you Can Trust our best Compliments to attend you all

I am Dear Sirs you Most Hble Servant

Annapolis Maryland
September 24th 1768

C. Carroll

To Messrs William and
James Anderson Merchts
in London

℔ Captain Craimer
November 19th 1768
℔ Capt. Nicholson via Bristol

1 Piece of very Good Printed Cotton or Silk and Cotton that will be Proper for winter wear If Printed Cotton sent it is desired to have a Coloured Ground
10 yards of narrow Edging Proper for Trimming fine White Humhums
2 Tea Table Cloths of Stamped or Painted Silk or Gause for Covering a Table of China that stands in a Parlour
6⅞ square Diaper Table Cloths
6¼ Do Do
1 Fashionable Genteel Large Silver Waiter or Salver Seventeen or Eighteen Inches in Diameter or over, not thick Chased all over but a Genteel Light Sprig Round only and Coat of Arms in Middle one Plain Ditto about Eight or Nine Inches in Diameter or over This must be Cup or Pillar footed as it is for the Middle of a Table
4 Do half Pint Cocoa nut shaped Drinking Cups Cup footed without Handles Gold Gilt Insides
Coat of Arms or Crest on all Plate

September 28th 1768 ℔ Captain Craimer
Novemr 19th 1768 ℔ Capt. Nicholson via Bristol with a Letter for John Morton Jordan Esqr

Sir

I shall be Glad if you Can Dispose of the Land we have Taken up in Partnership If Ready money Cannot be Got for it I am willing you should sell on Bond and I suppose Mr Ghiselin will agree to the same I will abide by any Bargain you shall make. But shall not be willing that the Land should be sold under Sixty or fifty Pounds ℔ hundred Acres as much more as you Please

I am Sir your M hble Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis November 10th 1768
To Mr Henry Griffith

Gent/

I Have Shippd you in your Ship the May Captain Henry McLachlan now in Wye River Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron and Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship There and thence to London that in Case of Loss for three hundred and forty Pounds Sterling

I have wrote before for this Insurance before McLachlan Arrived as the Iron was Lodged Ready for him and now take this opportunity to London as he is Arrived and the Iron on board

I am your M hble Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis November 25th 1768 To Messrs William and James Anderson Merchants in London

November 26th ℔ Capt McNabb

Dr Sirs/

By Captain McLachlan you will Receive Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron and a Certificate of the same being Plantation made. I have not as usual Inclosed the Certificate to you but sent it to Mr Lloyd to Give to him as I think Love told my Clerk that it was necessary to shew it to the officers at Clearing out the Vessel.

My wife in our Invoice of the 21st of July wrote for Sixteen yards of blue mantua Silk or Lutestring if these Reaches you time Enough, make the Quantity nineteen yards. She also in Her Letter to her Cousin Desired that the woman we wrote for should understand something of Clear Starching and Serving But as we want her Principally for a Housekeeper her understanding Cooking Pickling &c will be more Material. So that if it be Dificult to meet with one that may understand the Clear Starching and at the same time the Cooking &c. She Desires you will not Let that be any objection but send her a Good orderly Cleanly woman that will do for the Managing Her Kitchen and Housekeeping.

Our Streets are bad for Carriages at Night Desire you will send me in half a Dozen Links such as Footmen Carry behind Coaches, our Compliments attend all with you

I am Dr Sir your M hble Servant

Charles Carroll

Maryland December 15th 1768
To Messrs William and James
Anderson Merchants in London

Sent ℔ Mr Peregrine Tilghman
to Capt. Henry McLachlan
℔ Thomas Williams

Gent/

I am now about Breaking the Pipe of wine I Received from you in 1767 the flavor of it I think Good in Kind. But I fear Tho' I hope I may be mistaken it may be Rather too Hard for me as the very Dry wine are in General too Harsh for my Stomach which the Soft Silky Balsamic wines suit better

I must now Desire you will by the first opportunity send me in my Annual Pipe of the Prime Kind Last mentioned Soft Smooth and Balsamic the older the Better as the Quality may be better Judged of tho' if a Pipe of the Last Vintage that may be as much Depended on it will suit me as well

Shall be Likewise obliged if youl send me the Lemon Trees and Grape vines I mentioned in mine of the 13th of April 1768 ℔ Captain Cook The vines sent were when they arrived too far Gone to Strike out Fresh Root As I Chuse to Risk as Little as

Possible be Pleased to make Insurance on my wine always. For the Cost of the wine &c. be Pleased to Draw on Mess[rs] William and James Anderson Merchants in London and send the Inclosed Letter.

I am Gentlemen your Most H[ble] Servant

Charles Carroll.

Annapolis Maryland
February 28[th] 1769

To Mess[rs] Scott Pringle Cheap and C[o]
Merchants Madiera

℔ Captain Thomas Walker in M[r] Roberts Sloop

March 29[th] 1769

Gent

I have of this date wrote to Mess[rs] Scott Pringle Cheap and Company Merchants Madeira to send me a pipe of wine for the Cost of which I have Directed them to Draw a Bill on you which Please to Pay and Charge the same to my account

I am Gentlemen your M h[ble] Servant

Chas. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
February 28[th] 1769

To Mess[rs] William and James Anderson
Merchants in London

℔ Capt. Tho[s] Walker in M[r] William Roberts Sloop

March 29[th] 1769

Gent/

I shall be obliged if you will send me by the first opportunity that may offer the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice which as they are for my own Family use I would have of the very best of their kinds, they must be Landed at Annapolis and Insured so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the value of them

Be Pleased to Draw on Mess[rs] William and James Anderson

Merchants in London for the Cost and Charges on them and send the Inclosed Letter

I am Gentlemen your M h^ble Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis March 17^th 1769
To Mess^rs Lux and Potts
Merchants Barbadoes
℔ M^r Potts

Gent/

I have of this date wrote to Mess^rs Lux and Potts Merchants in Barbadoes to send me in some Commodities from their Island the Costs and Charges of which will I suppose Come to Between Twenty and Thirty Pounds Sterling for which I have Directed them to Draw on you which Draft be Pleased to Pay when it Comes to Hand and Charge the Same to

Gent. your Most H^ble Servant

Chas. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
March 17^th 1769
To Mess^rs William and James Anderson
Merchants in London
℔ M^r Potts

Invoice of Sundrys sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mess^rs Lux and Potts Merchants in Barbadoes Dated the 17^th March 1769
Marked

4 1 Barrel best Clayed Sugar
)(1 D^o Muscovado D^o of the Common Sort but Dry and Good
XX ½ hundred best Small Coffee
1 Hundred Gallons of best Molasses Light Coloured & Rich
2 Quarts best Simple Distilled orange Flower Water such as is Generally used in Cookery in Pint Bottles well Corked and waxed
2 Quarts Citron Water in Pint Bottles
Twenty Gallons oldest and Richest Cane Spirit in Good Iron bound Kegg
one Hh^d Good Rum

℔ M^r Potts

Gent/

I shall Ship you on Board your Ship the Lord Baltimore Captain Mitchel Twenty Tons of Pig and five Tons Bar Iron be Pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Vessell for one Hundred and Eighty Pounds Sterling

I am Gentlemen your M h^{ble} Servant

Annapolis Maryland
June 16th 1769

Charles Carroll

To John Morton Jordan Esquire
and Company
Merchants in London

To Goe in Captain Love
and Woodford

Gent/

I have Shipped you in your Ship the Betsey Capt Love twelve Tons of Bar and Thirteen Tons Pig Iron I Desire that you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessel that In Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling I have wrote to Mess^{rs} Henry Hill and Company and to Mess^{rs} Scot Pringle and Company Merchants at Madeira to send me in a Pipe of Wine Each and to Draw on you for the Value which Drafts be Pleased to Pay as they Come to Hand. I have also wrote to Mess^{rs} Potts and Lux Merchants at Barbadoes to send me in Commodities of their Island, to the amount of about twenty five Pounds Sterling and to Draw on you for the sum which be Pleased to pay when it Reaches you I shall I believe have occasion to Draw on you Payable to M^{r} Nicholas Maccubbin for about two hundred Pounds Sterling which Pay when the Draft Reaches you. The Goods ℔ Love I have Received Safe but hear nothing of the woman we wrote to you about for a Housekeeper

I am Gent your most H^{ble} Servant

Maryland April 12th
1769

Chas. Carroll

To Mess^{rs} William and James Anderson
Merchants in London

℔ Capt
Fitzherbert for
Bristol

April 20th ℔ Capt. Elliott
out of Miles River for London
Sent from the Collector's office

[End of letters. Here follows, after a blank page, the text of the " Act for the Encouraging the Importation of Pig Iron &c" of June 24, 1750. Since this is readily available in official text, the letter-book copy is omitted. The transcript of Tasker's letter below and the succeeding notes on the iron trade conclude the entries in the last of Carroll's extant letter-books.]

The Grand Dam of Silver Heels was out of a mare Lord Tankerville gave to old Colvill, she was got by a barb Lord Baltimore Procured out of the Kings Studd and sent over to this Country

his Dam was got by old Spark, Spark Cost the prince of Wales three hundred Guineas he was given by the prince to Lord Baltimore he was got by Aleppo a son of the Darley Arabian that was the sire of Childers his Dam was full sister to Mr Bathursts look about you, Silver Heel's sire is Called Tayloes Traveller Bred by Mr Crofts, Mr Bladen got his Pedigree and Mr Crofts's opinion of him by my Desire, I will send it to you when I Come from Belair it being now there Traveller was got by Mr Crofts old Partner

B. Tasker Junr

February 12th 1760

Memo Dimensions of Barr Iron given by Capt Judd in June 1752 from an Anchor maker of Reputie[?] vidl

¾ Inch Square the Most thereof
⅞ Inch Square
1 Inch Do
2 Inch Flatt & Narrower but no thickness Described

Memo Sepr 1st 1752 No 1 sent to Mr Fortergil pr Letter to Mr is the oar on Iron Hill near to Mr Wagoners and is in those Barrens Common towards Conagochig
No 2 is the Common Mountain ore near Clarks & between the Mountains.
No 3 is our Dwarf oak with the oakcorns
No 4 is the Substance that Drops from the Top of the Cave in the Mountains near [The last word is illegible. The copyist has rendered it *Clarks*, but there is ample room for doubt.]

BOOK REVIEWS

The Soul of a Nation. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1943. 378 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Matthew Page Andrews has expanded the first one hundred pages, approximately one-sixth, of his *Virginia: The Old Dominion* into a volume of three hundred pages in his recent *Soul of a Nation.* With sufficient elbow room, he has been able to treat the first seventeen years of the history of the Virginia colony with a most satisfying fulness and variety of details. He has indeed covered those trying years in the founding of Jamestown with such completeness and painstaking scholarship as to have produced what deserves to be called a definitive work. With remarkable skill he has, in the main, kept the scholarly props concealed behind the scenes, and has written with clarity and forcefulness an extremely interesting human story, in which pathos and humor both abound.

The reader will be astonished at the size of Virginia under the Raleigh Patent, as set forth by Dr. Andrews; and will be interested in the relationship which existed between Raleigh's "Lost Colony" and the establishment of the Jamestown settlement. He will be convinced by Andrews that the projectors and founders of the Virginia colony, though they were practical hard-headed realists, were motivated by altruistic and religious feelings with regard to both the settlers and the Indians, and that they desired to transplant to this side of the Atlantic the best political and social institutions of England; such as a representative form of government and ample educational opportunities. Dr. Andrews has thus been the first to demonstrate clearly that the Pilgrims did not enjoy a monopoly in idealism. The reader will also approve the way the author strips some of the robes of romance from Captain John Smith, and reveals a creature not so heroic as he portrayed himself in his own writings. Worthy of great praise are the portraits of the men and women that emerge from the pages of the book. The extraordinary Indian Princess Pocahontas becomes at long last a human being as does her gruff old father, and one feels that it was not incongruous that John Rolfe should have fallen in love with her and married her. Just as human seem Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir George Yeardley, Governor John White, and the many others, distinguished and otherwise, who contributed to the ultimate success of the great venture in the wilderness.

There are many dramatic episodes in this story. One of the most thrilling is entitled "The Bermudian Interlude." This relates how the squadron of nine vessels under the command of Sir George Somers, bearing colonists to Virginia, encountered a hurricane in the West Indies, which scattered the ships and wrecked the flagship *Sea Venture* on the coral reefs off the Bermudas. Andrews very properly makes much out of the part that shipwreck played in Shakespeare's writing the *Tempest.* Another striking event happened on June 18, 1610, when the disheartened, famine-stricken

survivors at Jamestown, who had embarked on shipboard to return to England, met Captain Edward Brewster a few miles down the river with the news that Lord Delaware had arrived with supplies and more colonists. By this timely event the colony was saved from abandonment. Most tragic of all is the account of "The General Massacre," in which more than four hundred men, women, and children met a bloody death from a concerted attack by the Indians. This constituted about one third of the population. As deadly perhaps as the Indian menace, which hung always over the colony like the sword of Damocles, was what the colonists called "The Summer Sickness"; in vain the physicians fought the disease, probably malaria, which finally led to the transfer of the colony to the more healthful site at Williamsburg. But the life of the settlers at Jamestown was not altogether one of hardship, famine, danger, and disease. In due time the land yielded bountifully. Andrews dwells upon the plentiful crops of corn and potatoes and the vineyards which filled the wine casks. Tobacco, in particular, brought wealth to the planters; this encouraged other colonists to come across the Atlantic and the successful colonization of Virginia was assured.

Readers of the *Soul of a Nation* will look forward eagerly for the publication of the second volume of this definitive history of Virginia.

CHARLES LEE LEWIS

United States Naval Academy

Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846, as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. xvi, 457 pp. $5.00.

This book will be opened by many people who, finding the promise of its title unfulfilled by any lush memoirs in the conventional deep-Southern manner, will lay it down in disappointment. To do so will be a mistake. This diary of Bennet Barrow, a planter of West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, covering the decade between 1836 and 1846, is the most significant document of its place and period that this reviewer has come across. In its day-to-day entries it gives a complete and realistic description of the slave-ridden life on a great cotton plantation. The magnolias and mocking-birds are there, but only by implication; the pickaninnies swarm, but they are seen through the anxious eyes of an owner trying to bring them through innumerable hazards to a profitable maturity. It was a fortunate thing for students of the agricultural and social history of this period that the manuscript of the Diary fell into the hands of Dr. Edwin Adams Davis, of the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University, who has provided it with a long analytical introduction almost as interesting as the Diary itself. In fact, the introduction might be read in place of the Diary by any one lacking time and patience to plow through Bennet's crabbed, unformed sentences.

In taking such a short cut, however, one would miss the remarkable self-portrait of the planter, who stands out as solid and three-dimensional as a character from one of Fielding's novels. Bennet Barrow seems a much simpler organism than his contemporaries of Virginia and South Carolina. His formal education is a thin veneer; he seems incapable of formulating generalities, and self-searching is almost unknown to him, save on one occasion when he is shocked into introspection by the illness of his wife. His really happy moments come in the field, with his hunting dogs, or at the race track. Although he is an energetic, progressive farmer, he often loses the fruit of hard work through carelessness, and again and again he is victimized by rascals who induce him to endorse their notes. He has a code of living, however, and tries sturdily to live up to it in his relations with his family, his friends and his two-hundred-odd slaves.

J. G. D. Paul

Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer: His Earlier Career. By Eric F. Goldman. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. 150 pp. $1.50.

This doctoral dissertation is an incomplete study of the career of the one Bonaparte in America who achieved prominence, published in its present state because there is no prospect of the author being able to continue the work. The result is a narrative which comes to an abrupt end in 1906, when Charles J. Bonaparte was transferred from his post as Secretary of the Navy to that of Attorney General. There is a brief Epilogue which is by way of a conclusion, but it is rather unsatisfactory; and one regrets the unfinished condition of the book.

The most interesting portion of the study is the first chapter, in which Mr. Goldman traces Bonaparte's early life and gives a characterization of the man. The author presents material which establishes well his subject's position as a "patrician reformer," "a moralist favoring an aristocracy for the good of the democracy." This is the part which will attract the attention of Marylanders who enjoy glimpses of the past and those who remember Bonaparte as one of Baltimore's outstanding citizens.

The rest of the volume consists of detailed accounts of Bonaparte's service as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as special assistant in the prosecution of postal frauds, as investigator of conditions in the Indian Territory, and as Secretary of the Navy. Every happening which touched Bonaparte is described at length, emphasizing the closeness of the Baltimorean to President Theodore Roosevelt. One phase which concerns Maryland particularly is the appointment of W. Hall Harris as Postmaster of Baltimore, Bonaparte's share in the surprise selection, and the cyclone created by it among the politicians.

Mr. Goldman has based his work on the Bonaparte Papers in the

Library of Congress, and every statement is very thoroughly documented. A Bibliographical Note discusses other manuscript collections used, and there is a section concerning the sampling of newspapers. Nowhere is there any indication that the Bonaparte Papers at the Maryland Historical Society were consulted.

An error is made in placing the Bonaparte home in Baltimore on the *south*east corner of Park Avenue and Centre Street (p. 13), when actually it was on the *north*east corner.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

The Maryland Scene: Events, People and Places Contributing to the Story of the State. By CHARLES T. DUVALL. Baltimore: the author, 1943. 368 pp. $2.00.

Here, if ever there was one, is a labor of love. Mr. Duvall is a member of a family which has been established in Maryland for nearly three hundred years and which has produced many notable men and women. With such a background it is natural that Mr. Duvall should have an unusual affection for his native State; and it is natural, too, that he should desire to express that sentiment in a striking and substantial manner. His method of doing so has been to write a book about Maryland, to tour the State making photographs to illustrate the book, to set it in type himself and to sponsor its publication!

Surely, then, " The Maryland Scene " is unique in the publishing annals of Maryland.

It was Mr. Duvall's choice to write the text of his book in versified form. In view of the author's statement in his preface that he was not undertaking to write a serious historical work but was intent only upon gathering " the more notable happenings, characters and features of our State " and putting them " into brief, readable forms," his decision to write in verse was clearly justified. The poetical form of the text has the effect of pointing up and adding emphasis to the subjects about which he writes.

No doubt Mr. Duvall will agree, however, that the photographs are what make the book. There are 470 of them, made in every corner of the State. Nearly every one is excellent; a few come close to being works of art—as, for example, the springtime view of Herring Run with its rippling water and the deep, rich tones of the feathery trees in the background. Most of Mr. Duvall's pictures, however, are strictly utilitarian views of buildings, bridges, monuments and natural objects. Such an amazing collection of pictures has never before, very likely, been assembled in Maryland. The surprising thing about it is that Mr. Duvall says the pictures were made not with expensive photographic equipment, but with a small hand camera of the Kodak type.

To make this array of photographs Mr. Duvall and his wife traveled about the State at intervals during the years 1932 to 1941. The type for

the book was set by Mr. Duvall during 1936 to 1942. Bound attractively in yellow and black, the book stands as a monument to Mr. Duvall's patience, industry and interest in Maryland. It is the author's impressive tribute to his native State.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association. Vol. II. [Berryville, Virginia: The Association.] 1942. 56 pp.

These Proceedings report the interesting work of a recently organized County Historical Association. Virginia is a mine of historical material; but the Virginians have been poor miners. As a result, Virginia history all too often consists largely of a repetition of the record of well known events, together with fanciful surmises; these latter being repeated so often as to become at last "history." All Virginia needs is a painstaking effort to gather the materials, and then their proper presentation as a whole in a history which would authentically reveal a unique and interesting episode in the affairs of this world.

The Portraits Committee of the Association has done notable work and owns negatives of a number of the portraits; 346 of which are listed in these Proceedings. The map of the Original Grants and Early Landmarks in what is now Clarke County by Curtis Chappelear is an extremely valuable addition to Virginia history. Indian artifacts from the vicinity of North Hill, presented by Maurice Castleman(p. 5), and those referred to in Kennerly's "Early Days" (p. 55), call attention to the fact that but little archaeological work has been done in the Valley of Virginia.

"Early Settlers in Clarke County East of the Blue Ridge" (p. 47), dealing largely with the "Manor of Leeds" is an example of painstaking historical work. It appears that John Fishback of Fauquier County, claimed "Calmes Neck," a tract of 128 acres on the east side of the Shenandoah. These Fishbacks were one of the German mining families from Westphalia, brought by Governor Spottswood to work at his iron mines at Germanna. John Fishback et al. acquired 1805 acres of Fairfax land by grant from "King" Carter (Fairfax's agent), and this may have been the basis of his claim.

A real historical determination of why the settlers came to what is now Clarke County, the routes by which they came, their every-day employments and activities, would be of importance. In addition to the grist mills, the story of the Tilt-Hammer mill should be fully written, and the local activities of the merchants and artisans described.

It appears (p. 31) that Colonel Fielding Lewis filed an account against one of the reviewer's ancestors for a tombstone. It is not to be supposed that the Colonel was in the tombstone business as a regular activity. But the tombstone is to be found in the "Old Chapel" graveyard. It is of the old, flat kind and made by an artisan of ability. Who was he?

In Kennerly's "Early Days" (p. 55) reference is made to the old bell at Greenway Court. A great uncle of the reviewer's, in 1894 published

an article, " The Shenandoah Valley—Some Notes of an Octogenarian." In it he refers to this bell and adds, " This bell now graces the locomotive ' Fairfax ' on the Shenandoah Valley Railroad." *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

To conclude, what more important contribution could be made to historical justice by this particular Historical Association than to see that the County's name is properly spelled and thus correct an error for which others are responsible. The County was named in honor of General George Rogers Clark. He was one of the truly great military heroes of the Revolution. With a vigorous mind and a lion's heart, he was able to organize and discipline a body of unruly pioneers and to crush the British and Indians in what is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Association should have in its library the " George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781," published by the Illinois State Historical Library in 1912.

WALTER H. BUCK

Calendar of Maryland State Papers. No. 1. The Black Book. (Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 1.) [1943.] 297 pp. $1.00.

This guide gives the contents of 1588 State papers, most of them falling in the period, 1740-1770. Every name mentioned is listed, as well as useful data on the type of manuscript, its location in the eleven volumes of the Black Book series, and references to the places of publication in the cases of those which have appeared in print. When it is noted that three-fifths of the material has never been published, it is possible to realize the value of the Calendar to all students of Maryland colonial history. The three-part index consists of a complete guide to names and places, a briefer history of the principal subjects discussed, and a " finding list " to correlate the calendar numbers and the Black Book numbers.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records. [Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1943.] 28 pp.

Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger. By CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM. (Reprinted from *Proceedings* of American Antiquarian Society for April, 1942.) Worcester, Mass.: the Society, 1943. 83 pp. Gift of author.

A Nineteenth-Century Medical School: Washington University of Baltimore. By GENEVIEVE MILLER. (Reprinted from *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* XIV, No. 1, June, 1943.) 29 pp. Gift of author.

Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society, Vol. III, 1942-1943. Charlottesville, Va.: the Society, 1943. 86 pp. Exchange.

The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches. By GEORGE W. BAGBY. 4th ed. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1943. 308 pp. $3.50. Gift of publisher.

Some Rare Old Books on Conjuring and Magic. By HENRY RIDGELY EVANS. [Kenton, Ohio: International Brotherhood of Magicians, 1943]. 21 pp. Gift of author.

The Present State of Virginia, and the College. By HENRY HARTWELL, JAMES BLAIR and EDWARD CHILTON. Edited by H. D. FARISH, Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1940. 105 pp. $2.75. Exchange.

Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze. Letters from West Africans. Edited by ANNA MELISSA GRAVES. Baltimore: the author, 1943. 176 pp. $2.00. Gift of editor.

Early Days of the Wild West. By WILLIAM A. MILLER. Washington, D. C.: the author, 1943. Gift of author.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE SOCIETY AT ITS ONE HUNDREDTH MILESTONE

Plans for observing the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Maryland Historical Society were announced in the November issue of *Maryland History Notes*. There will be a large general meeting on or about February 1, 1944. For this occasion a speaker of wide reputation is being sought. This will be followed shortly by the regular February meeting of the Society, which is the Annual Meeting, at which the Centennial theme will again predominate. Plans are also being laid for a series of afternoon meetings to be devoted to informal talks on American arts and crafts, during February and March.

The Council has authorized the publication of a booklet to contain the history of the Society and a brief descriptive guide to our collections. Mr. Gilman Paul is writing the historical sketch and the preparation of the guide is in the hands of the Society's staff.

The Committee on the Gallery has arranged for a major exhibition on the first floor of the main building. The two east rooms will be thrown together by removing the temporary partition which now separates them, and many choice pieces from our various collections will be assembled in these rooms to represent a Maryland parlor and dining room of a hundred years ago. Since the recommendation of the Gallery Committee involves the redecoration of three rooms, which will be in the nature of a permanent improvement, the Council has approved the plan and appropriated the necessary funds. The portraits of the founders of the Society, the original records and curious relics of the early days of its existence will be shown in another special exhibit.

S. Teackle Wallis—I am preparing for publication a group of letters of Severn Teackle Wallis and should like to see any of his correspondence in private hands, with a view to possible loan for the purpose mentioned.

FREDERICK J. SCOTT, S. J.
Loyola High School, Towson, Md.

Townsend—Who were the parents of Rhoda Townsend (daughter of John) who married John Houston of Delaware before 1730. Her mother may have been a Littleton.

Mrs. Ida M. Shirk
Box 1717, Washington D. C.

Contributors to this Number

Miss Josephine Fisher is a native of Baltimore, the holder of the Ph. D. degree in history from Bryn Mawr College and is at present a civilian employee of the United States Navy. ☆ Also a native product is Sergeant Milbourne Christopher, of the Special Service Command, U. S. A. A magician of parts, he had completed several tours to foreign countries before his talents were invoked for soldier entertainment in distant lands. ☆ Louis Dow Scisco, possessed of unusual knowledge of Maryland's land records, has been a not infrequent contributor to these pages. He has been co-editor of several volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ William D. Hoyt, Jr., of the Society's staff, is the editor of *Maryland History Notes*. ☆ From a considerable collection of papers and letters handed down through her family, Mrs. Doris Maslin Cohn, of Princess Anne, Md., has selected those printed herein as a second installment to illustrate the living conditions and prevalent ideas of the post-Revolutionary period.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVIII

Names of authors and titles of contributed papers and original documents are entered in small capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.

Abbott, Dr., 4
Abel, John J., 11
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald T., 91
ABERCROMBIE, RONALD T., "*Sweet Air*" *or* "*Quinn*," *Baltimore County*, 18-36
Adams, Herbert Baxter, 3
Addison, Rev. Henry, 314
  Col. John, 52
  Rachel (Dulany), Mrs. Henry, 314
  Virginia, 88
Addison's Ferry, 149
Adriana (vessel), 124
Aikman, William, 276
Aleppo (horse), 369
Alexander, G. W., 210
  John Henry, 96
  Robert, 170
  Thomas S., 236
  Judge William, 243
All Saints' Parish (Frederick County), 319 *ff.*
Allemand, John O'G., 61, 63
Allen, Bennet, 94, 299-322
  Elizabeth, 299
  Rev. Ethan, 141, 143, 146, 150, 153 *ff.*
  James, 299
  Solomon, 111
  Theodore, 74
Allston Association, 62 *ff.*
"Almodington," 356
Ambler, J. J., 71
  Philip St. George, 72
  Dr. R. C., 71-72
American Philosophical Society, 79
American Statesman (Boston), 84
Amory, W., 339
Anderson, Maj., 216
  Charles, 73, 165
  William and James, 181, 183 *ff.*, 362 *ff.*
Andersons Cabbin, 165
Andrews, John A. (Massachusetts), 237
  Matthew Page, 86-87, 206
Andrews, Matthew Page, *The Soul of a Nation*, reviewed, 370-371
Angelo, H., 225
Ann McKim (vessel), 90
Annapolis, 195
  Committee of Correspondence of, 176
  Description of, 302
  Theatre in, 40-41
Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739–1741 . . . edited by Maude H. Woodfin, *reviewed*, 192-193
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND NEAR THE LEONARD CALVERT HOUSE, by Henry Chandlee Forman, 56-59
Armstrong, Gen. John, 69
Astor, William B., 75
Atherton, Humphrey, 72
  N., 77
Atkinson, Hannah Ann, Mrs. James Edmondson, 95
  B., 208, 213, 219, 220

B., J., 207
Bache, Alexander D., 73, 75, 76
Bachmann, John, 74
Bacon, Anthony (London merchant), 54
  Rev. Thomas, 39, 45, 167, 168
  Mrs. Walter C., *elected*, 93
Baer, Dr. William S., 14
Baetjer, Dr. F. H., 14
Bagby, George, *The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches*, 375
Baird, Rev. Dr. Robert, 76
Baker, Col., 224
  Anna Burneston, Mrs. William, 95
  Thomas, 255
  William, 95
Baltimore, Frederick, 6th Lord, 301 *ff.*
Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 239, 240, 243 *ff.*, 330
Baltimore City College, 27
Baltimore Clipper, 239
Baltimore Corn Exchange, 208, 238
Baltimore County, Sheriff of, 21
Baltimore Daily Advertiser, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112
Baltimore Daily Gazette, 246, 248
Baltimore Daily Repository, 326
Baltimore [Iron] Works, 362
Baltzell, Dr. W. H., 11
Bamberg, David T., 324
Bancroft, J., 76
Bank of Maryland, 125
Bank of North America, 268
Bank of Washington, 264, 267

Bank Riots, 62
Bankhead, James, 77
Banks family, 296
——— (Richardson), Mrs. Joshua, 296
Gen. Daniel B., 225
Dorothy M., *elected*, 92
Joshua, 296
William B., 19
Banning, Jeremiah, 154
Baraldi, Elise, 66
Bard, Harry, *Maryland: The State and Its Government*, reviewed, 294
Barker, Charles A., 44 *fn.*
Dr. Lewellys F., 91
BARKER, LEWELLYS F., *The Early Days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, 1-18
Barlow, Joel, 69, 75, 267
Mrs. Joel, 69-70
Barnstable (pseudonym), 219
Barnstable, Dr., 209
Barnum's Hotel, 95
Barney, Joshua, 199, 200
Barrett, Alexander, 296
Ann, Mrs. John, 296
Christian Henry, Mrs. John, Jr., 296
Elizabeth, Mrs. Alexander, 296
John, 296
John, Jr., 296
Barroll, William, 125
Barrow, Bennet H., 371-372
Barton, Prof. William P. C., 74
Barzun, Jacques, 89
Bathurst, Mr., 369
"The Bay Farm," 282
Bayly, Esme, 352, 353, 357
Josiah, 350, 353, 357, 358
Thomas, 357
Beall, Maj., 347
Beasley, R. G., 74
"Beckford," 353
Beckworth, Sir Marmaduke, 40
Beddle, *see* Beedle
Bedell, *see* Beedle
Bedford, Dr. Gunning S., 72
Beedle (Bedell, Beddle), Edward, 279 *ff.*
Beile, John, 74
"Belair" (Prince George's Co), 369
Bellumeau de la Vincendière family, 118-119
Belt, Capt., 347
Bend, Rev. Mr., 156
Benjamin, David A., 255
BENNET ALLEN, FIGHTING PARSON, by Josephine Fisher, 299-322
Bennett, Charles H., 144
Dr. George, 14
Benton, Thomas Hart, 108
Bentz, Frank L., 288
Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze, edited by Anna Melissa Graves, 376
Berkley, Dr. Henry J., 10
Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser, 324
Berquin-Duvallon, ———, 110
Berry, John S., 236
Betsey (vessel), 368
Betsy (vessel), 186
Betterley, Mrs. Joseph F., *elected*, 93
Bevan, Mrs. William F., *elected*, 93
Bibb, Charles W., 97
Bibbins, Mrs. A. B., 96
Bibliotheca Annapolitana, 273
Biddle, Nicholas, 76
Richard, 84
Big Bethel, Battle of, 216, 220
Big Sergeant (pseud.), 210
Billings, Dr. John, 10
Dr. John Shaw, 3 *ff.*, 12
Birckhead family, 95
Dr., 349, 350
Bisset, Mr., 156
Bixler, Dr. W. H. Harrison, *elected*, 92
Black Book, The, 375
Blackstone, Nehemiah, 279
Bladen, Mr., 369
Thomas, 163, 164
Bladensburg, 105, 133, 293
Blagg, Abraham, 279
Blair, James, *see* Hartwell, Henry Montgomery, 219
Blake, James Vinton, 97
Blanchard, Jean Paul, 89
Blandy, Rear Adm. William H. P., 199
Bliss, Eleanor, 17
Mrs. William J. A., *elected*, 92
Bloodgood, Dr. Joseph, 10
Blumer, Dr. George, 10
Blunt, E. and G. W., 77
Boggs, Dr. Thomas R., 14
Boisneuf, Jean Payen, 119
Bonaparte, Charles Jerome, 372-373
Elizabeth (Patterson), Mrs. Jerome, 116
Bond, Judge Carroll T., 91, 94, 288
Judge Hugh Lennox, 244, 247, 258
Bonner, Rachel, 4
Bonsal, Louis, 221
Booker, Dr. William D., 10
Bordley, John Beale, 51
Stephen, 51, 276
Boston Courier, 84
Boston Journal, 238
Boston Patriot, 84
Boston Post, 237
Boswell, James, 144

Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, 172, 176-179, 299, 301, 302, 313 *ff.*
Boudinot, Elias, 108
Bovey, Mrs. C. C., 97
Bowdoin, Mrs. Henry J., 123, 261
Bowditch, Mr., 75
Bowen, Francis, 71
Bowen, Richard Lebaron, *Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting*, reviewed, 197
Bowie, Allen, of John, Jr., 141, 142, 149, 156
Allen, of Rev. John, 146
Allen St. John, 160
Augustus Jesse, Jr., 160
Elizabeth, 160
Henry Pike, 160
James, of Rev. John, 160
Rev. John, 141-160, 198
John, Jr., 141
John, Sr., 142
Joseph Haskins, 160
Lucy Leigh, 198
Bowie, Lucy Leigh, *The Reverend John Bowie, Tory*, 140-160
Bowie, Margaret, 160
Margaret (Dallas), Mrs. John, 143 *ff.*
Thomas, of John, Sr., 141, 143
Thomas, of Rev. John, 160
Walter Worthington, 141, 142
William, Jr., 141
William, [III], 141
Bowman, Col. John, 193
Boyce, Ann, 22
Benjamin, 22, 23, 26, 33, 34
Eleanor, 22
Elizabeth, 22
Mrs. Heyward E., 34
John, 22
Mary, 22
Rebecca, 22
Rebecca (Smith), Mrs. Roger, 21, 32
Roger, 19, 21 *ff.*
Roger, Jr., 22
Boyd, Julian P., *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text*, 295
Boylan, James E., *elected*, 93
Bozman, John Leeds, 157
Bradford, Gov. Augustus W., 223, 232, 234-235, 239, 242, 245, 247 *ff.*
Brady, Arunah S. Abell, *elected*, 93
Brann, W. L., *elected*, 92
Bray, Rev. Thomas, 273
Breckinridge, John C., 232
Brevoort, Henry, Jr., 71
Brewer, Dr. Charles, 96
Brewington, Marion V., 90
Brewster, Capt. Edward, 371
Brice, [John], 174
Bridgen, Anna, 72, 77
Brigham, Clarence S., *Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger*, 375
Bright Helmston (i. e., Brighton), England, 278
Briscoe family, 97
Brocklesby, Edward, 282 *ff.*
Richard, 279, 282
Broedel, Max, 15
Brooke, Maj., 347
Mr. Clement, 362
John M., 194
" Brookfield," 141
Brooks, Charles, 80
" Brookwood," 142
Brown, Esther A., 66
Mrs. Ford K., *elected*, 93
George S., 67
George William, 212
Dr. James, 10
John, 210
Nicholas, 74
R. R., 65
Dr. Thomas R., 13
Brownell, Henry Howard, 229
Browning, Meshach, 161
Bruff family, 290
Brun, Dr. Lucien B., 14
Brush, C. W., 61
Bryan, William Jennings, 193
Bryant, William Cullen, 74
Buchanan, Mr., 362
Capt. George 188
James, 232
Buck, Walter H., 194, 375
Buckingham, Joseph T., 74
Buckland, William, 196
Buel, Jesse, 80, 81
Bullett, Thomas, 157
Bullus, Dr. John, 82
" Bunker Hill," 138
Burditt, Thomas, 332
Burgess, Dr. B. H., 96
Burnaby, Rev. Andrew, 37, 38
Burnam, Dr. Curtis F., 15
Burnside, Gen. Ambrose E., 235
Buron, Mlle., 106, 111
Burton, Mrs. B. B., 296
Burwell family, 295
Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., 212, 220
Butterworth, Mrs. Mary Peck, 197
Byrd family, 295
Lucy (Parke), Mrs. William, of Westover, 192
Maria (Taylor), Mrs. William, of Westover, 192

William, of Westover, 37, 192-193
Byron, Gilbert, *These Chesapeake Men*, reviewed, 88-89
A Bystander (pseud.), 315

Cabell, Dr. James L., 70
Joseph, 70
Dr. Robert H., 73
Cadwallader, Gen. John, 135
Caiuctucuc (Will's Creek), 162, 163
Caldcleugh, Mr., 70
Calder, James, 51
Caldwell, Mrs. A. Brown, *elected*, 92
Calendar of Maryland State Papers. No. 1. The Black Book, reviewed, 375
Callister, Henry, 167, 276
Calme family, 196
Calmes, Marquis, 194
"Calmes Neck" (Va.), 374
Calvert, Gov. Charles, 129
Charles B., 245, 246, 256, 257
Charles Benedict, 270
Edward Henry, 263
Elizabeth (Biscoe), Mrs. E. H., 263
Elizabeth (Calvert), 129
Elizabeth (Steuart), Mrs. George Henry, 132, 343-344
George 129, 132, 133, 137, 263, 264, 338, 342
George Henry, 132, 262, 263, 337 *ff.*
Henry, 264
Gov. Leonard, 56
Marie Louise, 269
Rebecca (Gerrard), Mrs. Charles, 129
Rosalie Eugenia (Stier), Mrs. George, 123-140, 261-272, 337
THE CALVERT-STIER CORRESPONDENCE, edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 123-140, 261-272, 337-344
Calvert Street Wharf, 120
Camac, Dr. C. N. B., 13
Cameron, Simon, 219
Campbell, Daniel, 51
Rev. George, 153
Cap François, 109
Captain Ridgely's London Commerce, 1757–1774, by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 295
CAPTAIN ROBERT MORRIS OF RATCLIFFE MANOR, by Louis Dow Scisco, 331-336
Carcaud, Capt., 187
Carey, Henry, 84
Carnes, Peter, 293
Carrel, Dr. Alexis, 8
Carroll family, 118
Anna Ella, 96
Anne (Brent), Mrs. Daniel, 24
Charles, 19
Charles, of Carrollton, 87, 112, 201
Charles, of Duddington, 23
Daniel, 19, 23, 33
Henry, 19, 33
Henry Hill, 19, 23, 24, 26, 33
Archbishop John, 75, 112
Mary (Hill), Mrs. Charles, Jr., 23
Mary Ann (Carroll), Mrs. Charles of Daniel, 24, 33
Sarah (Rogers), Mrs. Henry Hill, 23
Thomas King, 236
Carter family, 292-293, 295
Frances (Tasker), Mrs. Robert, 292-293
John Ridgely, 123
Robert, of Nomini Hall, 292-293
Rosalie Eugenie (Calvert), Mrs. Charles Henry, 269, 342
Wilmer C., *elected*, 93
Carvile, John, 335
Casler, Dr. DeWitt B., 15
Castleman, Maurice, 374
Catalogue of Archival Material, Hall of Records, reviewed, 87-88
Cathcart, Maxwell, 94
Cecil Whig, 245
Centerville, 105
Chaille, Mr., 357
Chalmers, George, 179-180
Chandlee, Benjamin, 289-290
Benjamin, II, 290
Benjamin, III, 290
Ellis, 290
Goldsmith, 290
Isaac, 290
Chandlee, Edward S., *Six Quaker Clockmakers*, reviewed, 289-290
The Chapel Land (St. Mary's City), 56
Chappelear, Curtis, 374
Charles Carroll of Carrollton, by Ellen Hart Smith, *reviewed*, 87
Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer: His Earlier Career, by Eric F. Goldman, *reviewed*, 372-373
Charleston, S. C., 215
Chase, B. W., 60
Salmon P., 219
Samuel, 124, 126-127, 171, 291
Chatard, Ferdinand-Edmé, 114
Ferdinand-Edmé, Jr., 114
Francis-Silas, 114
Frederick, 114
Jeanne-Marie-Françoise-Adelaïde, Mrs. Pierre, 114
Joseph Albert, 114
Pierre, 112 *ff.*

Chaumont, LeRoy de, 75
Chazal, J. P., 74
Chesapeake Bay, 88-89
[Chesapeake and Ohio] Canal, 125
Chesney, Miss J., 65
Chesnut, Judge W. Calvin, 97
Chestertown, 41, 105, 254-255
Chestertown News, 255
Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, 138
Chew, John, 308
Samuel, 299, 307 *ff.*
Childers (horse), 369
Childs, William T., *elected*, 93
Chilton, Edward, *see* Hartwell, Henry
Chinard, Gilbert, 78
Chipman, Bowie, 160
Chisholm, [Mr.] (Annapolis cabinet-maker), 196
Dr. J. J., 64
Chodak, Jules, *elected*, 92
Christ Church, Great Choptank Parish, 153
Christian, Dr. Henry M., 13
Christopher, Milbourne, 377
CHRISTOPHER, MILBOURNE, *Magic in Early Baltimore*, 323-330
Cibot, Rev. Adrien, 109, 121
City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Charleston, 109
CIVIL WAR SONG SHEETS, by Raphael Semmes, 205-229
Claggett, Bishop Thomas John, 149, 154, 156, 157
Clapham, [Mr.], 174
John, 315
Clapton, William, 96
Clark, Charles Branch, 298
CLARK, CHARLES BRANCH, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 230-260
Clark, F. P., 64
Mrs. Gaylord Lee, 96
George Lewis, 193
Gen. George Rogers, 375
Dr. John G., 10
Mrs. Stephen J., 297
Thomas Ogle, 297
Clarke, William (Scots lawyer), 71
Clarke County, Va., 374-375
Clarke County, a Daughter of Frederick, . . . , by Rose M. E. MacDonald, *reviewed*, 295
Clemmers family, 163
Clemson, Thomas G., 73, 74
Clerical Academy (Rev. George Morrison's), 27
Clericus (pseud.), 315
Cliff, Samuel, 80
Clifton, Ernest, 216
" Clifton," 356
The Clipper (Baltimore), 222
Close, Mrs. Forrest, *elected*, 92
Cloud, Dr. Joseph, 73
" Clydael " (Belgium), 123, 342
" Clynmalira," 23, 24, 33
Coale, George B., 60, 64, 65
Samuel Stringer, 97
Thomas, 97
Cockey, Edward, 96
Cohen, Dena, *elected*, 92
Cohn, Doris Maslin, 377
COHN, DORIS MASLIN, editor, *Letters of the Haynie Family*, 345-361
Cohongaronta, 162
Cola (pseud.), 207, 208
Cole, Charles, 46-47, 167
Coleman, Mr., 156
Coles, William S., 76
Colgate, Robert, 97
Collins, Varnum Lansing, 143
Colson, Capt., 186
Colston, Fred M., 64
Mrs. Fred., 66
Columbian (New York), 84
Columbian Centinal, Boston, 108
Commissary General, 314
Committee of Correspondence (Annapolis), 176
Common, Dr. George, 72
Conococheague (Conagochig), 369
Constellation (U. S. S.), 199
Cook, Capt., 184, 185, 365
Rev. J. David, 97
Jane James, 96, 97
William Grant, 97
Cooke, [Mr.] (London), 284
Ebenezer, 38, 39
Elizabeth (Tilghman), Mrs. William, 131
William, 131
Cook's Tavern, Baltimore, 330
Cooley, M. E., 97
Cooper, James Fenimore, 74
Thomas, 81
William, 82
Cordell, Eugene Fauntleroy, 113
Coriell, Louis D., 14
Corner, Mr., 358
William H., 170
Cotley, Abel, 290
Coulter, Archie B., 60, 61, 63
Council of Safety, 148, 176
Councilman, Dr. William T., 4, 9
Courlaender, R., 61, 63
Coursey, Henry, 332
William, 332, 333
Courtney family, 97

Coxe, C. D., 77
[Crabtree], Lotta, 64-65
Cradock, Katherine, 96
Rev. Thomas, 50
Craig, Charles Page, 160
Craik, Dr. James, 152
Craimer, Capt., 363
Cramphin, Elizabeth (Pottinger) Bowie, Mrs. Thomas, Sr., 141, 142
Crane, Charles P., *elected*, 92
Claris T., 96
Mrs. John Alden, *elected*, 92
Crawford, Dr. John, 81
William H., 70
Cressin, Mr., 328
Creswell, John A. J., 236, 240, 242, 244, 245, 247, 256 *ff.*
Crisfield, Caroline M., 96
John B., 245, 246, 256 *ff.*
Crist, G. W., Jr., *elected*, 92
Crofts, Mr., 369
Croghan, Dr. John, 74, 80
Crookshanks, Mr., 349
Crowe, Dr. S. J., 14
Crowl, Philip A., *Maryland During and After the Revolution: a Political and Economic Study*, reviewed, 291-292
Cruger, Mrs. Catharine, 75
Cullen, Dr. Thomas S., 5, 10
Culver, Francis B., 39
Cumberland, 161 *ff.*
Cumming, Thomas, 167
William, 45, 51
Cunliffe, Foster, and Son, 167
Curlett, John, 63
Cushing, Dr. Harvey, 8, 14
Cushman, Mrs. Palmer Hall, *elected*, 94
Custis, Eleanor (Calvert), Mrs. John Parke, *see* Stuart, Eleanor (Calvert) Custis, Mrs. David
George Washington Parke, 131
John Parke, 129, 177
Cuvier, Anne, 76

D., C., (pseud.), 315
Daily Advertiser (Boston), 84
Dakein, Isaac, 315, 321
Dale, Mrs. John, 353
Dallas, James, 143
Margaret (Hamilton), Mrs. James, 144
William, 144
Dandridge, Anne Spotswood, 34
Dandy, Dr. Walter E., 14
Dashiell, Dr. Nicholas Leake, 93
William, 353, 358
A Daughter of Dixie (pseud.), 208
David Glasgow Farragut, Our First Admiral, by Charles Lee Lewis, *reviewed*, 286-287
Davidson, Clinton C., 89
Davis, Edgerton Y., *see* Osler, Dr. William
Dr. Edwin Adams, 371, 372
Henry Winter, 219, 239, 240, 244 *ff.*
Jefferson, 212, 219, 223, 237, 243
Dr. John Staige, 14
Matthias, 147 *ff.*
Sam, 60
Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines, Mary Walton Ferris, compiler, 198
Day, Mary Forman, 95
Deards, [Mr.], 173
Decatur, Stephen, 199
The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text, by Julian P. Boyd, 198, 295
Declaration of Rights, 146
Defence (warship), 199-204
DeLeon, T. C., 229
"Delph," 278, 280, 282 *ff.*
"Delph Island," 278
Dempster, John E., *elected*, 92
Dennis, J., 148
Judge James U., 94
Judge Samuel K., 92, 98
Dennison, Mrs. Charles, 65
Denwood, [Mr.], 347
Le Diable Boiteux (pseud.), 208, 214
Dibdin, Rev. Thomas, 179
Dickey, Katie, 66
Dickinson, Josiah, 194
Dielman, Louis H., 97, 229
Dix, Gen. John A., 210, 219, 234, 250, 252
Dixon, William T., 2
Dobbin, Judge George W., 62, 63, 67
Mrs. Isabel, 66
Dodd, John T., 255
Dodge, Joshua, Sr., 75
Dole, Esther M., 147, 288
Donaldson, Dr. Francis, 114
Done, Patience (Bayly), Mrs. Col., 358
Dopkin, Lee L., *elected*, 93
Dorsey, Edward, 52
Doyle, Thomas G., 221, 222, 225, 228
Drill, James M., 63-64, 67
"Drum Point," 52
Drum Stick Club, 171
Dubourg, Father, 110
Ducatel, Anne-Catherine (Pineau), Mrs. Edmé Germain, 115
Edmé-Germain, 114-115, 120
Dr. J. T., 73
Jules-Timoleon, 114-115
"Duddington Manor," 24

Dugàs family, 119
Grace, 119
Dr. L. A., 73
Dulany family, 274
Daniel, 47, 48, 51-52, 302 *ff.*
Daniel, Jr. [the Younger], 52, 87
Lloyd, 316
Rebecca (Tasker), Mrs. Daniel, 293
Walter, 48, 303, 309, 313 *ff.*
Dumfries (Va.), 194
Duvall, Charles T., *The Maryland Scene: Events, People and Places Contributing to the Story of the State*, reviewed, 373-374
Duvall, Mrs. Richard M., 95

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL, by Lewellys F. Barker, M. D., 1-18
Early Days of the Wild West, by William A. Miller, 376
Eastern Shore Jockey Club, 155
Easton, 155
Easton Academy, 157-159
Easton Herald, 159
Eddis, William, 38 *ff.*, 172, 176
Eden, Caroline (Calvert), Lady Robert, 175
Gov. Sir Robert, 41, 171, 173, 175-176, 178, 314, 326
Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger, by Clarence S. Brigham, 375
Edistowe River, 162
Edmiston, Rev. William, 309
Edmondston, John, 283
Edward Boteler Passano: A Portrait, by Robert S. Gill, *reviewed*, 197
Eighth Virginia Regiment, 193
" Eli O'Carroll," 33
Ellet, Charles T., Jr., 73
Elliott, Capt., 368
Rev. Robert, 157, 158
Ellsworth, Col. E. E., 224
Elzey, Gen. Arnold, (C. S. A.), 216
Emma Giles (vessel), 89
Emmett, Daniel D., 213-214
Emory, Bill, 65
Charles, 159
L. Winder, 4
Ennals, Miss, 350
Ensor family, 97
Enterprise (vessel), 199
Entick, Rev. John, 38
Erskine, Mr., 358
David Montague, 135
Frances (Cadwallader), Mrs. David Montague, 135
Erwin, Mrs. William Whitehead, 96
Evans, Henry Ridgely, *Some Rare Old Books on Conjuring and Magic*, 376
Evans, Dr. Henry Ridgely, 97
Lewis, 166
Ewing, [Mr.], 347

Fagan, W. L., 229
Fairfax, Rev. Bryan, 153
Falconi, Signor, 323 *ff.*
Falk, Louis A., J. George Fredman and, *Jews in American Wars*, 295
Faris, William, 130
Farish, Hunter Dickinson, editor, *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, reviewed, 292-293
Farquhar, Mrs. William, 145, 160
Farragut, Admiral David Glasgow, 287-288
Farrar, Professor John, 71
Fausley Creek, 155
" Fausley Wood," 155, 157
Fax, Joseph, *elected*, 92
Federal Gazette, 113, 328
Federal Intelligencer, 328
Fells Point, 90
Fendall, Mrs. Elizabeth, 278, 279
Elizabeth (Brocklesby), Mrs. James, 278 *ff.*
James, 278
James, of John, 279, 284
John, 279 *ff.*
Gov. Josias, 277-286
Samuel, 277, 279 *ff.*
Fenwick, Mr., 349, 351, 357
Ignatius, 23, 26, 33
Capt. John R., 77
Ferris, Mary Walton, compiler, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 198
Fifteen Mile Creek (Alleghany Co.), 161
Findlay, Charles, 253
John Van Lear, 236, 243
Finney, Dr. John M. T., 9
The First Air Voyage in America [*Jean Paul Blanchard*], by Carroll Frey, 89
The First Century of Flight in America, by Jeremiah Milbank, *reviewed*, 293-294
First Regiment Maryland Zouaves, 210
Fishback, John, 374
Fisher, J. Francis, 73
Dr. James Logan, 73
Dr. John D., 73
Josephine, 94, 377
FISHER, JOSEPHINE, *Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson*, 299-322
Fisher, Miles, 285
Fisk, Rev. Dr. Wilbur, 75
Fithian, Philip Vickers, 292-293

Fitzherbert, Capt., 368
Fitzpatrick, [Mr.], 126
John Clement, 152, 153, 177
Capt. Keran, 124
Fleury, Clare (Young), Mrs. Paul-Aimé, 111
Paul-Aimé, 110, 111
Flexner, Dr. Abraham, 15
James, 6
Dr. Simon, 6, 10, 12, 13
Flint, J. M., 13
Follis, Dr. Richard H., 14
Footner, Hulbert, 288
Forbes, George, 97
Ford, Phil., 283
Forensic Club, 170-171
Forman, Henry Chandlee, 91
FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE, *An Archaeological Find at St. Mary's*, 56-59
Forman, Henry C., *The St. Mary's City "Castle," Predecessor of the Williamsburg "Palace,"* 295
Forman, Martha Browne Ogle, Mrs. Thomas Marsh, 95
Thomas Marsh, 95
Forrestal, James V., 199
Fort Cumberland, 347
Fort Hill, 166
Fort McHenry, 212
Fortergil, Mr., 369
F[oster], J. W., 295
Foster, James W., 89, 98, 162, 294
Joseph, 299
Miles, 283
Foster Cunliffe & Son, 167
Fowle family, 97
Francis, John W., 72
Tench, 155
Frazier, Capt. John, 254, 255, 259
Frederick, George A., 65
Frederick Town (Frederick Co.), 105, 118, 319 *ff.*
Frederick-Town Herald, 118
Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser, 105, 118
Fredman, J. George, and Falk, Louis A., *Jews in American Wars*, 295
The Free State of Maryland: A History of the State and Its People, 1634–1941, by Frederick Arnold Kummer, *reviewed*, 288-289
Freeman, [Mr.], 347
Freeman, Douglas Southall, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*, reviewed, 86-87
Freeman, Dr. Elmer B., 93
French, Benjamin F., 80
Frey, Carroll, 89
Frick, Frank, 63, 66
Friedenwald, Mrs. Julius, 95
The Friend (pseud.), 315
A Friend to Merit (pseud.), 315
Fries, Adelaide, editor, *The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vol. VI*, 295
Froehlinger, Richard A., *elected*, 93
Fry and Jefferson's Map, 162
Fulton, Charles C., 245
Futcher, Dr. Thomas B., 13

Gallatin, Albert, 74, 77
James, 116-117
Josephine (Pascault), Mrs. James, 117
Gallaudet, Thomas H., 75
Galloway, Joseph, 310
Galveston, Texas, 215
Gamble, Dr. Cary B., 10
Gambrall, Theodore C., 146
Gans, Arthur D., 96
Gard, William, 333
Gardiner, Charles, 154
Norman Bentley, 93, 97
Gardner, David, 71
Mrs. Philip, 95
Garretson, Cornelius, 170
Garrett, John W., 2, 13
Mrs. Johnson, *elected*, 93
Mary, 11
Gassaway, Nicholas, 96
Gates, F. T., 7
Gen. Horatio, 193
Gaule, Catherine C., *elected*, 93
Gay, F. P., 13
Dr. Leslie N., *elected*, 93
Gelston, Elise, 66
Genêt, Edmond, Citizen, 87, 107
George, Esther (Ridgely), Mrs. T. S., 97
Georgia Gazette (Savannah), 121
Ghiselin, [Mr.], 173, 174, 364
Ghriskey, Dr. A. A., 11
Gibbs, Mr. and Mrs., 71
James E. A., 194
Lewis, 73
Gibson, Ann, 279
Dr. Charles B., 72
Frank, 60, 65, 66
Jacob, 158
James, Jr., 60, 61
Miles, 278, 279
Robert, 279
Sarah, 279
Gilchrist, Dr. Caspar, 5, 10
Gildersleeve, Basil Lanneau, 3
Gill, Robert S., *Edward Boteler Passano: A Portrait*, reviewed, 197
Gillette, M. Virginia, *elected*, 93
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 2 *ff.*

Gilmor, Elizabeth (Cooke), Mrs. Robert, 131
Robert, 131
Gipson, Lawrence Henry, 166
Gist, Major Mordecai, 147
Glassford, John, & Co., 143
Glenn, W. Wilkins, 60 *ff.*
Godby, Alexander, 65
Godwin, [Mr.], 105
The Golden Age of Colonial Culture, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *reviewed*, 195-196
Golden Fortune (vessel), 331
Goldman, Eric F., 88
Goldman, Eric, *John Bach McMaster, American Historian*, reviewed, 295
Goldsborough, Henry Howe, 241, 244, 245, 256
Martha Schley, Mrs. R. Y., 95
Dr. Richard Yerbury, 95
Goldsmith, George, 281
Goodwin, Daniel R., 71
Dr. Lyde, 292
Gordon, Mr., 349, 350
Rev. Mr., 154
Sir Alexander, 145
Rev. John, 45, 49, 167, 168
Mrs. Mary, 154
Capt. Robert, 45, 49
Prof. Thomas, 145
Gosney family, 97
Gosney Family Records, 1740–1940, and Related Families, by Georgia Gosney Wisda, 89
Gostlin, Benjamin, 335
Jane (Winthrop), Mrs. Thomas, 335
Thomas (of Groton, England), 335
Gould, Benjamin A., 71
The Governor's Field (St. Mary's City), 56
Granby, Marquis of, 317
Grand League, 240, 241
Grant's Assembly Room, 111
Grattan, Thomas C., 84
Graves, Mr., 362
Anna Melissa, 95
Graves, Anna Melissa, editor, *Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze*, 376
Graves, Sophia Anna, 95
William, 71
Gray's Inn, 51
Great Choptank Parish. *See* Christ Church, Great Choptank Parish
" Great House Plantation," 52
Green, Anne Catherine, Mrs. Jonas, 315
Frederick, 46
Jonas, 43 *ff.*
Gov. Robert [*sic*], 324
Greene, Lt. Col. Joseph I., 97
" Greenmount," 90
" Greenway Court," 374-375
Griffith, Dr., 73
Henry, 364
Greland, Madame, 270
Griffith, Nicholas, 160
Groome, H. C., 194
Grove, James H., Jr., *elected*, 93
Growden, Joseph, 281-286
Laurence, 286
Grub, Edward, 74
Gruben, Baron Hervé de, 124
Gumpert, G., 224
Gunpowder River, 33, 34
Gunpowder Upper Hundred, 34
Gwinn, Charles J. M., 2

H., J. S., 218
Hager, Jonathan, 296
Hagerstown, 105, 296
Haines, Nathan, 182
Hall, Dr. Fred, 74
Prof. Frederick, 72
John, 281
Martha (Beedle) Goldsmith, Mrs. John, 281
Halsted, Dr. William S., 4 *ff.*
Hamburger, Dr. Louis P., 13
Hamersley, Hugh, 301 *ff.*
Hamilton, Dr. Alexander, 44, 46 *ff.*
Gavin, 47
James, of Dalziel, 144
Rev. John, 45, 49
Margaret (Dulany), Mrs. Alexander, 48
Mary, Mrs. William, 48 *fn.*
Dr. Robert, 47
S. M., 177
Dr. William, 47
Hamman, Dr. Louis V., 14
Hammond, John, 179
Nicholas, 157
Hancock, James, 93, 94
Handbook of American Genealogy, edited by Frederick Adams Virkus, 198
Handy, Mr., 345 *ff.*
Col. George, 96
Hanover Parish (Virginia), 176
Hanselmann's (saloon), Baltimore, 11
Hardman, [Mr.], 347
Hare, Dr. Robert, 70
Harlan, Judge Henry D., 2, 97
Dr. Richard, 82
Harris, Benjamin G., 91, 95, 242, 246, 256, 257
Joseph, 95
Joseph, 95

Martha Elizabeth, 95
W. Hall, Sr., 372
Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports*, 303
Harrison, Fairfax, 194
Lt. Col. H. C., Jr., *elected*, 92
J. W., 97
Dr. Samuel, 150, 154, 155, 157 *ff.*
Thomas, 154
Hart, Freeman H., *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution*, reviewed, 193-194
Hart, Governor John, 20
Samuel, 45
Hartridge, Walter Charlton, 198
Hartridge, Walter Charlton, *The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland*, 103-122
Hartwell, Henry, Blair, James, and Chilton, Edward, *The Present State of Virginia, and of the College*, 376
Hay, John, 248
Hayes, [John], 325, 329
Haynie, Betsy (Bayly), Mrs. Ezekiel, 349 *ff.*
Charlotte, 353
Dr. Ezekiel, 345 *ff.*
Judith (James), Mrs. Samuel, 349
Leah, 350
Martin, Jr., 350
Martin Luther, 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 354 *ff.*
Richard, 350
Richard Hambden, 354, 355
Samuel, 349
Hayward, Thomas Smyth, 160
William, 157
Gen. William H., 229
Hazlewood, Henry, 278
Heathcote, George, 336
Margaret (Gostlin), Mrs. Thomas, 335
Thomas, 335
Heaton, Herbert, 89
Helfenstein, Mrs. Ernest, 97
Helmsley, William, 278
Hendler, L. Manuel, 96
Henning family, 97
Henry, Isabel, Mrs. John, 296
John, 296
Herbert, Col. John Carlyle, 136, 263
Mary (Snowden), Mrs. John Carlyle, 136, 263
"The Hermitage," 141, 142, 149, 156
"Hermitage" (Frederick County), 119
Herring Bay, 306 *ff.*
Herzer, Gustav, Jr., *elected*, 93
Heskar, Timothy, 280
Hesselius, Gustavus, 47, 196
John, 47, 196
Heuer, Dr. George, 14
Hewetson, Dr. John, 10, 12
Hibbard, F. C., 297
"Hickory Hill," 167
Hicks, Gov. Thomas Holliday, 219, 230 *ff.*
Hill, Ann, 296
Mr. Clement, 296
Henry, & Co., 368
Mrs. Robert R., 296
William B., 245
William Carroll, 97
Hillen family, 118
Hines, Jesse K., 255
Hite, John, 194
Hitzelberger family, 97
Hoch, Dr. August, 11
Hoffman, Ogden, 74
Holborn, Hajo, 89
Holland family, 97
John G., 240, 245, 256, 257
Hollins, Capt. George Nicholas (C.S.N.), 217
Hollyday, James, 52
Homony Club, 171-175, 176, 179, 196
Hone, John, 75
Hood, Mr., 187
Hopkins, Capt. Esek, 200
Johns, 1 *ff.*
Joseph, 10
T. H. Hanford, *elected*, 92
Hopkinson, Dr. B. Merrill, 65
Mrs. B. Merrill, 66
Hopper, Charles Cox, 93
Daniel Cox, 97
Horner, Mrs. Harris H., 93, 97
Dr. William E., 73
Hornet (sloop-of-war), 200
Hosack, Dr. Alexander, 72
Dr. David, 71, 72
Houck, Mrs. Harry E., *elected*, 92
Houston, Capt. James, 354
John, 377
Rhoda (Townsend), Mrs. John, 377
Samuel, 194
Howard, Charles, 96
Charles McHenry, 161
Francis Key, 207
Col. John Eager, 96
Dr. William T., 5
Howe, Gen. George Augustus, 147
Howell, William H., 11
Hoye, Charles E., *The Hoyes of Maryland*, reviewed, 196-197
The Hoyes of Maryland, by Charles E. Hoye, *reviewed*, 196-197
Hoyt, William D., Jr., 87, 91, 196, 198, 292, 298, 373, 375
Hoyt, William D., Jr., *Captain Ridgely's London Commerce, 1757–1774*, 295

Hoyt, William D., Jr., editor, *The Calvert-Stier Correspondence*, 123-140, 261-273, 337-344
Hoyt, William D., Jr., editor, *The Warden Papers*, 69-85
Huber, Frederick R., 288
Humpton, Blanche, 7
Hunner, Dr. Guy L., 15
Hunt, William, 117
Hurd, Dr. Henry M., 4
" Hutchins' Lot," 20, 23, 32
" Hutchins' Neglect," 20, 23, 32
" Hyde Park," 138

Immanuel Church, Chestertown, 151
Independent Club, 171
Indian Queen (tavern), Baltimore, 111, 326
Indian Will, 163, 164
Ingle, William, 94
The Interpretation of History, by Jacques Barzun [and others], 89
Iron Hill, 369
Irvine, B., 84
Irving, Washington, 71
" Island Point Plantation," 52
Israel, Fielder C., 96

Jackson, Mr., 353
  Dr. Charles T., 73, 74
  Henry, 353
  Rev. Joseph, 157
  Gen. T. J. (Stonewall), 194, 206, 217
Jamaica Gazette, 324
James, Rev. Mr., 299
  Ann, Mrs. Thomas, 348-349
  Rev. John, 176
  Joseph, 349
  Mary (Ransom), Mrs. Charles, 66
Janeway, Dr. George J., 73
Jamestown, Va., 371
Jarvis, Samuel F., 77
Jefferson, G. W., 234
  Thomas, 91
Jenifer, Daniel of St. Thomas, 148
Jenings, Thomas, 171
Jenkins family, 118
  Adelaide Lowe, 119
  Bob, 65
  Michael O., 97
Jennings. *See also* Jenings
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E., 93
Jenning's Run, 163
Jews in American Wars, by J. George Fredman and Louis A. Falk, 295
John Bach McMaster, American Historian, by Eric Goldman, *reviewed*, 295
Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1-18
Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 4
Johns Hopkins Medical School, 11 *ff.*
Johns Hopkins Medical Society, 4
Johnson, Daniel, 277
  Francis, 73
  Joshua, 186
  Reverdy, 236, 248, 258
  Dr. Samuel, 144, 145
  Gov. Thomas, Jr., 148, 149
Johnston, Dr. Christopher, 97
  Mrs. Christopher, 96
  Mrs. Gordon, *elected*, 93
Jones, Rev. Charles S., 97
  Rev. Hugh, 37, 38, 39 *fn.*
  Mrs. Sparhawk, 19
Jordan, Mrs., 184
  John Morton, 184, 363
Jordan & Maxwell, 184, 186
Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish, *reviewed*, 292-293
Joyce, W. Brewer, *elected*, 93
Judd, Capt., 369
  Jane, 280
Julius, Dr. Nicholas H., 70
Junker, [Mr.], 161

Kalkbrenner, [Mr.], 106
Kane, George 212, 222
  John, 72
  John K., 76
  Thomas L., 75
Keating, William H., 73
Kedger, Thomas, 331
Kelly, Dr. Howard Atwood, 4 *ff.*, 93
Kemp, Bishop James, 153
Kemper, James L., 232
Kenedy & Lee, 187
Kennard and Williamson, 90, 96
Kennedy, Florence J., *elected*, 93
  John, *elected*, 93
Kent County School, 151
Kent News, 245, 246
Kerr, John Leeds, 157
  John R., 258
Key, Francis Scott, 93, 96, 130
  Dr. John, 50
  Marie Louise Harris, 95
  Mary Tayloe (Lloyd), Mrs. Francis Scott, 130, 131
  Mrs. Mattie Maddox, 91, 92, 95
  Philip, 50, 51
King, Francis T., 2
King David (vessel), 332
Kirk, John, 96
Kirkland, J. F., 79

Knott, Aloysius Leo, 243, 244
Knox, Dr. J. H. Mason, 13
Koon-Coons family, 97
Kummer, Frederic Arnold, *The Free State of Maryland: A History of the State and Its People, 1634–1941*, reviewed, 288-289

Lacombe, Mme. Vve., 110
A Lady of Baltimore (pseud.), 228
A Lady of South Carolina (pseud.), 209
Lafleur, Dr. H. A., 7
Laird, Philip D., 199
Lake, Rev. Charles, 142
Lanakai, U. S. S., 96
Lane, Frederic C., *elected*, 92
Lanier, Sidney, 65
LaPiana, George, 89
Laprade, Mrs. Anne-Josephine de, 121
Large, M., 118
Latané, Lucy T., 96
Latrobe, Benjamin Henry, 76
LaVérité (French Masonic lodge), 120, 122
Law, Eliza Parke (Custis), Mrs. Thomas, 129
  Thomas, 129
Leake, James D., 4
Lee family, 118
  Gen. Charles, 193
  Corbin, 22, 33
  Eleanor (Addison), Lowe Smith Thornton, 21-22
  Elizabeth Collins, 229
  Maj. Henry (1787–1837), 77-78
  Gen. Robert Edward, 194
  William, 70
Leeds, Manor of (Va.), 374
Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command, by Douglas Southall Freeman, *reviewed*, 86-87
Le Fèvre, Mme., 63
Legaré, Hugh Swinton, 76
LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER (continued), 181-191, 362-369
LETTERS OF THE HAYNIE FAMILY, edited by Doris Maslin Cohn, 345-361
LeViness, Charles T., *elected*, 93
Levy, Lieut. (U. S. N.), 72
Lewis, Gen. Andrew, 193
  Charles Lee, 371
Lewis, Charles Lee, *David Glasgow Farragut, Our First Admiral*, reviewed, 286-287
Lewis, Col. Fielding, 374
  Jack, 89
Lieber, Francis, 71
The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy, by Bell Irvin Wiley, *reviewed*, 195
LIGHT OF THE FAMILY OF GOV. JOSIAS FENDALL, by Nannie Ball Nimmo and William B. Marye, 277-286
Light Street (Baltimore), 201
Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, 218, 246 *ff.*
  F. W., 73
Lindsay, Mrs. James, 66
Line, Philip, 285
Lippencott, Freelove, 197
LITERARY CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND, 1770–1776, by Joseph Towne Wheeler, 273-276
"Litterluna," 33
Little, Basil, 331
Little Romney Creek, 282
Lloyd, Edward, 157
  Col. Edward, 130
  Elizabeth (Tayloe), Mrs. Edward, 130
  Mary Howard, 96
  Robert, 362, 364
Locke, John, (Cincinnati) 74
  Dr. T., 74
Lockerman, Miss, 358
  Mr., 359
Lockwood, General, 255
Lodge, G. Henry, 71
Logsdon family, 97
London Town (Anne Arundel County), 105
Long, Dr. Perrin, 17
Longcope, Dr. Warfield T., 14
Longstreet, Gen. James, 86
Lonn, Ella, 294
Lord, Dr. J. Williams, 10
Lord Baltimore (vessel), 367
Louisville, Ky., 215
Love, Rev. Mr., 188
  Capt. Robert, 186, 188
Low, Thomas, 280
Lowdermilk, W. H., 162, 163
Lowe, Adelaïde (Bellumeau), Mrs. Samuel Adams, 119
  Bennett, 21-22
  Gov. Enoch Louis, 119, 232
  Samuel Adams, 119
Lowndes, Elizabeth (Tasker), Mrs. Christopher, 293
Lucas family, 91
Lucas, Carrell, 65, 68
Lux & Bowley (Baltimore), 201
Lux and Potts (Barbadoes), 367, 368
Lynes, Philip, 279
Lynn, David, 347
  Capt. John, 347

MacCallum, Dr. William G., 6, 8, 13
  Gen. George B., 86, 220, 231
McCormick, Charles P., *elected*, 94
  Cyrus, 194

McCrae, Dr. Thomas, 8, 13
Maccubin, Sir Hugh, 167
Mr. Nicholas, 362, 368
McCulloch, Mrs. Duncan, Sr., 19, 32
MacDonald, Rose M. E., *Clarke County, a Daughter of Frederick*, reviewed, 295
McDowell, Dr. Ephraim, 194
Maj. Gen. Irvin, 219
McGrath, [Mr.], 105
McGuire, [Mr.], 347
McHenry, James H., 96
McIlvain, Elizabeth, 66
McIntosh, Duncan, 96
Mackenzie, George Norbury, 119
McKim, John, 63, 65, 66
Isaac, 90
Mrs. W. Duncan, 90, 95 *ff.*, *elected*, 92
McLachlan, Capt. Henry, 185 *ff.*, 362, 364, 365
McMahon, Dr. J. P. C., 76
McMaster, John Bach, 295
S. S., 242
McNabb, Capt., 364
Macnemara, Margaret, Mrs. Thomas, 20, 21, 32
Michael, 21
Thomas, 19 *ff.*
Macneven, Dr. William James, 72, 81
McPherson, Capt., 347
Edward, 250 *ff.*
Lieut. Mark, 347
McRae, Alexander, 69
Maddox, Susan Ruth Harris, 95
Madison, James, 108
Dorothy Payne (Todd), Mrs. James, 75
Maffit, S. S., 241, 245, 246, 256
MAGIC IN EARLY BALTIMORE, by Milbourne Christopher, 323-330
Magrath, Rev. Owen, 157
Magruder, Caleb Clarke, 150
Col. J. B., 216
Gen. John Bankhead, 114
James, Jr., 141
Malcom, Rev. Alexander, 49
Mall, Franklin P., 5, 11, 12
Malone, Dumas, 89
Marbury family, 196
Marcilly, F., 118
Maréchal, Archbishop, 117
Marex, M. et Mme., 111
Maria (vessel), 70
Marine, Harriet, 96
William M., 96
Markland, Edward, 157
Markoe, Francis, Jr., 81
Marsh Market, 9
Marston, Dr. James Graham, *elected*, 93
Martin, Mr., 330
Mrs. Edwain S., 93
Edward D., 93, 195
Dr. Ennalls, 157
Martine, Giuseppe, 65
Martinsburg, Va., 213, 217
Marye, William B., 196, 198, 298
MARYE, WILLIAM B., NANNIE BALL NIMMO AND, *Light on the Family of Josias Fendall*, 277-286
MARYE, WILLIAM B., *Notes on the Primitive History of Western Maryland*, 161-166
"Maryland" (pseud.), 215
Maryland during and after the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study, by Philip A. Crowl, *reviewed*, 291-292
Maryland Gazette, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 125, 127, 171, 315 *ff.*, 323, 325, 329
Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, 26, 33, 34, 103 *ff.*, 120, 327, 328
Maryland News Sheet, 232
The Maryland Scene: Events, People and Places Contributing to the Story of the State, by Charles T. Duvall, *reviewed*, 373-374
Maryland Women, compiled by Margie H. Luckett, 295
MARYLAND'S FIRST WARSHIP, by Hamilton Owens, 199-204
Maryland's 117th Trench Mortar Battery, by Henry D. Stansbury, *reviewed*, 89
Maryland: The State and Its Government, by Harry Bard, *reviewed*, 294
Mason, Emily V., 229
John, 77
Matthews, R. Stockett, 236, 244
Maury, Commodore Matthew Fontaine, 194
Maxon, Mr., 125
May (vessel), 364
Mayer, Francis B., 62
Mease, Dr., 70
Maynadier, Elizabeth, 96
Mechanic, Morris A., *elected*, 93
Medford, Richard Carl, 288
Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, 8, 114
Medical Repository, 113
Medical Society of Delaware, 113
Meese, Henry, 331
"Melville Park," 95
Memphis, Tenn., 213
Mentzer, Col., 347
Mercer, Maj. John, 76

Meredith, Gilmor, 65
Merrimac (vessel), 194
M[erritt], E., 295
Merritt, Elizabeth, 293
Merry, Anthony, 134
Elizabeth (Death), Mrs. Anthony, 134
Merryman, Laura, 96
Maj. Micajah, 96
Merryman, ex parte, 212
Messonier, François, 112
Meyer, Jerome K., *elected*, 92
Michel, Nicolas-François-Just, 121
"Middle Plantation," 52
Milsank, Jeremiah, *The First Century of Flight in America*, reviewed, 293-294
Milbourne, Mr., 328
Miles, Rev. Richard P., 72
Miles River Bridge, 154
Miller, [Mr.], 106
Edith, *elected*, 92
Dr. Edward, 82
Miller, Genevieve, *A Nineteenth-Century Medical School: Washington University of Baltimore*, 375
Miller, William A., *Early Days of the Wild West*, 376
Mills, Capt. John, 97
Missouri Day by Day, edited by Floyd C. Shoemaker, *reviewed*, 198
Mitchell, Dr. James F., 10
Samuel, 85
Mobile, Ala., 218
Monbret, C., 84
Moncrieff, Mr., 349
Monday Club, 167
Mondésir, Jean, 112
Montgomery, Mrs., 325, 329
Thomas H., 314
"Montpelier" (Prince George's Co.), 263
Monumental Assembly Rooms, 64, 65
Moore, Frank, 229, 237, 248
Thomas (Irish poet), 135-136
Moranvillé, Rev. Jean-François, 110, 121
Mordecai, Randolph, *elected*, 93
Morecroft, John, 333, 334
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 193
Morison family, 97
Samuel Eliot, 97
Morris, Mr., 354, 355
Anthony, 331
Caroline Maria (Calvert), Mrs. Thomas Willing, 129, 130, 134, 262, 263, 269 *ff.*, 337 *ff.*
John, 335
Martha (Gostlin), Mrs. Robert, 334, 336
Robert, 167-170, 331 *ff.*
Capt. Robert, 331-336
Thomas Willing, 129
Morrison, Eliza, Mrs. George, 24
Rev. George, 24, 27, 36
Mott, Dr. Valentine, 72
"Mount Clare," 181
Mowbray, John McC., *elected*, 93
Muhlenberg, Gen. Peter, 193
Mullikin, James C., 294, 374
Murray, Miss, 125
George W., 82
John Donaldson, 94
Mrs. T. Morris, 261
Mustard, Charlotte (Rogers), Mrs. Wilfred P., 66
Myer's Tavern, 330
Myers, W. S., 254, 259

National Intelligencer, 236, 246
Naylor, Hugh E., 194
Neagle, Mrs. Louis F., 224
Neilson, George, 44 *fn.*
Nellie Pentz (steamship), 255
Nelson family, 295
"New Design" (plantation), 52
New York State Library, 80
New Theatre (Baltimore), 326, 328
New York Tribune, 234
Newell, H. H., 3
Nicholson, Capt., 363
Capt. James, 201-204
Nicolay, J. G., 248
Nimmo, Nannie Ball, 298
NIMMO, NANNIE BALL, and WILLIAM B. MARYE, *Light on the Family of Gov. Josias Fendall*, 277-286
A Nineteenth-Century Medical School: Washington University of Baltimore, by Genevieve Miller, 375
"Nomini Hall," Va., 292-293
Norfolk, Va., 208
Norton, Dr. Rupert, 11
NOTES ON THE PRIMITIVE HISTORY OF WESTERN MARYLAND, by William B. Marye, 161-166
Nott, Dr. Josiah C., 72
Nottingham, Cecil County, 290
Novy, Dr., 13
Noyes, Marcia, 8
Nuttall, Dr. George H. F., 13
Nuttle, Elias H., *elected*, 93

"Oak Hill," Talbot County, 150, 157
Oates, Mrs. Malcolm N., *elected*, 92
Oath of Allegiance, 147
Ocheltres, Mrs. Maxwell, 297
O'Donnell, Eleanor (Pascault), Mrs. Christopher Columbus, 117
John, 115

O'Duhigg, M., 118
Ogle family, 297
Ogle, Anne (Tasker), Mrs. Samuel, 293
Elizabeth, Mrs. John, 297
Howard, 297
Dr. Howard, 297
John, 297
John, Jr., 297
Julia, 297
Gov. Samuel, 39, 297
Thomas, 297
Thomas Moore, 297
Virginia, 297
Old, Francis, 96
Old American (theatrical) Company, 40, 41
Old Secesh (pseud.), 219
The Old Theatre, Baltimore, 323, 325, 326
The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches, by George Bagby, 375
Old Woman's Gut, 282
Oldtown, 165
Olin, Rev. Dr. Stephen, 74, 77
Oliver, Robert, 90
Opie, Dr. Eugene L., 13
O'Rourke, Marie-Angèle-Renée (de Veteaux), Mrs. Patrick, 121
O'Rourke, Nicolas, 121
Patrick, 121
Osbourne, Margaret (Beedle) Walston, Mrs. William, 281
William, 281
Osler, Dr. William, 4 *ff.*
"Ossian Hall," 138
Othello (horse), 40
Otis, James, 311
Otter (H. M. S.), 203, 204
Owens, Hamilton, 97, 298
OWENS, HAMILTON, *Maryland's First Warship*, 199-204

P., P., 210
Paca, Gov. William, 170, 171, 174
Page family, 295
Pangborn, Thomas W., *elected*, 93
Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society, Vol. III, 375
A Parishioner of All Saints' (pseud.), 320 *ff.*
Parkman, George, 75
Parsons, Dr. Harold, 11
Louisa, 4
Pascalis, Dr. Felix, 81
Pascault, Ann E. (Goldsborough), Mrs. Louis Charles, 118
Francis, 118
Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis, Marquis de Poléon, 115 *ff.*
Louis, 112
Louis Charles, 118
Mary Magdalen (Slye), Mrs. Louis, 116
Pasquet de Leyde, Rev. Marcel-Guillaume, 121
Passano, Edward Boteler, 196
A Patriot (pseud.), 220
Patterson, M. C., 83
Robert, 75
Robert M., 73
W. D., 76, 81
Paul, J. Gilman D., 372
Paulding, Commander James Kirke, 114
Payne, John Howard, 74, 83
Peabody, George, 1
Peach, S. Marvin, *elected*, 93
Peale, Charles Willson, 196
Rembrandt, 81, 265, 339
Pearce, James Alfred, 234
Peck, Edwin, 97
John, 292
Pegram, William M., 60, 65
Peirce, Benjamin, 81
Gen. Ebenezer W., 216
Pennick, Christopher, 285
Nathaniel, 285
Pennington, Harper, 67
John H., 294
William C., 67
Pennock, Dr. C. Wistar, 73
Pennsylvania Chronicle, 316, 317
Pennsylvania Library of Foreign Literature and Science, 76
Perkins, Dr. Cyrus, 75
George W. T., 255
Perrière, M. de la, 121
Périgny, Abbé Georges de, 112
Perry, William, 154
William Stevens, 304, 306
"Perry Hall," Baltimore Co., 22
Petray Begouen, Caroline de, 119
Phelps, Charles E., 243
Phipps, Henry, 6
Louis N., *elected*, 93
Pig Point, 309
Piggot, Mrs. Margaret, 227
Pike, Albert, 213-214
Pillans, James, 76
Pinaud, J., 111
Pindell, Dr. Richard, 345 *ff.*
Pinkus, Henry, 80
A Plain Dealer (pseud.), 315
Plantation Life in . . . Louisiana . . . the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow, reviewed, 371-372
Pleasants, Dr. J. Hall, 13, 98, 290
Plummer, James H., 255
Pocahontas, Princess, 370

Pococke, Mary, 279
Poinsett, Joel R., 71, 73, 77, 81, 82
Politics in Maryland during the Civil War, by Charles Branch Clark (continued), 230-260
Polk, Mr. (Philadelphia), 357
Pontier, Sieur, 111
Poole's Island, 333 *ff.*
Porter, G. Harvey, *elected*, 92
Port Tobacco, 209
Pottinger, Dr. Robert, 156
Pottle, Frederick A., 144
Pouder, G. H., *elected*, 93
Powell, Samuel, 147 *ff.*
Powers, Hiram, 74
Preble (U. S. S.), 218
The Present State of Virginia and the College, by Henry Hartwell, James Blair and Edward Chilton, 376
Preston, William C., 71
Price, Capt., 183
Benny, 347
Tom, 347
" Price's Plantation," 52
Priestley, Joseph, 76
Prince George's Parish, 146
Princess Anne, 353, 356
Pringle, Edward, 71
Robert, 71
William, 71
Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association, reviewed, 374-375
Purdie, Capt., 186
Purnell, Dr., 351
William H., 243, 253
Purviance S[amuel] and R[obert], 201

Q., M. F., 228
Queen Anne, 149
Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, 178, 304
Queen Mab (horse), 40
Queens Town, 105
Querist (pseud.), 315
Quick Silver (pseud.), 326
Quien Sabe (pseud.), 208, 218
Quincy, Josiah, 79, 80
" Quinn," 19 *ff.*

R., N. G., 207, 213, 216
Rabillon, Leonce, 60, 68
Radcliffe, G. L. P., 231, 234
Mrs. George L., *elected*, 92
Radoff, Morris Leon, 87
Raine Hall, 62
Raitt, John, 51, 54
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 370
Ramsay, Nathaniel, 96
Ramsey, Andrew, 128
William, 128
Randall, James Ryder, 205 *ff.*
Randolph, John, of Roanoke, 96
Dr. Robert L., 10
Innes, 61, 65
Rannie, Mr., 329-330
John, 328-329
Ratcliffe, England, 331, 335, 336
Ratcliffe Manor, 332 *ff.*
Rawlinson & Co., 187
Ray, Thomas, 154
Read, Mrs. Edith, 97
Reading and other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700–1776, by Joseph Towne Wheeler, 37-55, 167-180
A Rebel (pseud.), 207, 217
Reckord, Maj. Gen. Milton A., 93
Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vol. VI, edited by Adelaide L. Fries, 295
Redhouse Club, Annapolis, 44 *fn.*
Redwood, Frank, 65
Mary (Coale), Mrs. Francis T., 66
Reed, Capt., 181
Emilie McKim (McIlvaine), Mrs. William, 65, 66, 90
Dr. Walter, 13
The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland, by Walter Charlton Hartridge, 103-122
Reid, Mrs. Harry Fielding, 10
Remsen, C. E., 3
Reubell, Frederic, 116
Henriette (Pascault), 116
Reuling, Edward, 65
The Reverend John Bowie, Tory, by Lucy Leigh Bowie, 140-160
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 293
Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting, by Richard Lebaron Bowen, *reviewed*, 197
Ricaud, James B., 245, 255
Richardson, Capt., 362
Dr. Edward H., 15
Hester Dorsey, 47
Mark, 280
Richmond, Va., 209, 210, 216
Richmond Dispatch, 232
Riddoch, Isobel (Dallas), Mrs. James, 143, 145
Rev. James, 143, 145
Ridgely, Capt. Charles, 291
Dr. Fred, 292
Dr. Nicholas G., 207
Rind, William, 170, 276
" Riversdale," 129, 132, 133 *ff.*, 261 *ff.*
Robb, Dr. Hunter, 11
Isabel (Hampton), Mrs. Hunter, 4, 11

Roberts, Emerson B., 97
M. S., 96
William, 366
Robertson, John R., 60, 68
Robin, Dr., 111
Robinson, Ann Calvert (Stuart), Mrs. William, 138
Merit M., 74, 77
Moncure, 74
William, 138
Robosson, Ray, 96
Roche, Thomas F., 217
Rock Creek Church, *see* St. Paul's Church, Prince George's Parish
Rockefeller, John D., 6
Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, 7, 10
Rogers, Capt. William, 52
Rolfe, John, 370
Rolle, Robert, 154
Roosevelt, Pres. Theodore, 372, 373
"Rose Hill," Cecil County, 95
Ross, Dr. David, 163, 165
Rowe, Mrs. George H., *elected*, 93
Royalist Club, Annapolis, 44 *fn.*
Rumsey, James, 194
Rush, Dr. [Benjamin], 113
Russell, Richard, 282, 283
Dr. W. W., 11
Rusticus (pseud.), 315
"Ryleys Discovery," 141

S., C. S. (pseud.), 223
S., F. H. (pseud.), 222
S., H. J., 213
S., O. H. (pseud.), 220, 228
St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, 49, 303 *ff.*
St. Anne's [*sic*] Church, Prince George's Co., 304
St. Barnabas Church, Prince George's Co., 304
St. James' Church, Anne Arundel Co., 142, 306 *ff.*
St. James' Church, My Lady's Manor, 96
St. John's Church, Long Green, 97
St. John's College, 157
St. John's Parish, Baltimore Co., 21
St. Martin's Church, Worcester Co., 146
St. Martin de Bellevue, Louis Sebastian Charles, 118
St. Mary's Beacon, 233
St. Mary's Church, Caroline Co., Va., 176
St. Mary's City, 56-59
The St. Mary's City "Castle," Predecessor of the Williamsburg "Palace," by Henry C. Forman, 295
St. Michael's, 88
St. Michael's Parish, Talbot Co., 49
St. Paul's Church (Rock Creek Church), Prince George's Parish, 146
St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, 154
St. Peter's (Catholic) Church, Baltimore, 121
St. Thomas's Parish, Baltimore Co., 50
Sampson, George, 77
San Domingo, 103 *ff.*
Sanchez, Carlos, 65
Sandford, Robert, 162
Sandys, Sir Edwin, 370
Saratoga, U. S. S., 114
Sargeant, Philip W., 116
Sargent, John Singer, 6
Dr. Joseph, 84
Sater, Henry, 97
Saunders, Hyman, 324, 326
Savannah, Ga., 213
Scarborough, Katherine, 97
Scarff, John H., 92, 95
Scharf, John T., 163, 237, 243, 248
Schenck, Gen. Robert C., 212, 219, 220, 239, 247 *ff.*
Schultz, Edward T., 120
Scisco, Louis Dow, 377
Scisco, Louis Dow, *Captain Robert Morris of Ratcliffe Manor*, 331-336
Scot, Will, 132
Scott, Dr. [Upton?], 132
Frederick J., S. J., 376
Gen. Winfield, 71, 73
Scott, Pringle, Cheap, & Co., 181, 185, 366, 368
Sea Venture (vessel), 370
Seabrook, William L. W., 241
Sears, D., Jr., 75
Sedgley, Hilhouse, & Randolph, 183
Seilhamer, George C., 41
Semmes, Raphael, 96, 193, 218, 298
Semmes, Raphael, *Civil War Song Sheets*, 205-229
Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records, 375
Sevier, John, 194
Seward, William H., 219
Sewell, Arthur P., *elected*, 92
Shannahan, E. McNeal, 93
Sharpe, Gov. Horatio, 40, 302, 305 *ff.*
Shattuck, Dr. George C., 73
Shaw, [John], 196
Shawnee Indian Fields, 166
Shea, John Gilmary, 121
Sherwood, Hugh, 154
Shirk, Mrs. Ida M., 377
Shoemaker, Floyd C., editor, *Missouri Day by Day*, reviewed, 198
Shriver, J. Alexis, 19, 97
Janie, 66
Sibley, Neal A., *elected*, 93

Sickles, Gen. Daniel Edgar, 209
Siegel, Gen. Franz, 219
Sigourney, Lydia Huntley, 80
Silver Heels (horse), 369
Sim, Col. [Patrick], 149
Simms, Professor, 72
William Gilmore, 229
Sinclair, William, 81
Singleton, Thomas Dickinson, 160
Sioussat, St. George L., 52 *fn.*, 97
Six Quaker Clockmakers, by Edward E. Chandlee, *reviewed*, 289-290
Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, 207, 212, 227, 237
Skinner, Maurice E., 96
Slemmons, Dr. J. M., 8
Slidell, Lieut., Alexander, 75
Slocum, Mrs. George Washington, 94
Sloman, Jerome, *elected*, 93
Smallwood, Gen. William, 147 *ff.*
Smith, Capt. (mariner), 362
Dr., 360
Lt., 347
Dr. A. G., 74, 82
Dr. Albert, 74
Catherine Marsh, Mrs. Mathew, 95
Dr. Chauncey, 11
Smith, Ellen Hart, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, reviewed, 87
Smith, Francis, 72
Dr. Frank R., 11
Rev. George C., 227
Mrs. Harrison, 83
Horace W., 145
John, 201
John (Somerset County), 351
Capt. John, 370
Joseph, 274
Mathew, 95
Richard, 22
Samuel, 62
Rev. Dr. William, 151, 154, 156
William M., 73
William Prescott, 60 *ff.*
Dr. Winford H., 4
Smith's Town House, St. Mary's City, 56
Smithson, Col. Thomas, 154
Snowden, Ann (Ridgely), Mrs. Thomas, 136
Thomas, 136
Sollenberger, Katherine Gordon (Abercrombie), Mrs. McCord, 32
McCord, 32
Some Rare Old Books on Conjuring and Magic, by Henry Ridgely Evans, 376
Somers, Sir George, 370
Song Sheets, Civil War:
"Address to Her Maryland Lover by a Virginia Girl," 228
"After the War," 228
"The Alabama Cottage," 215
"All On Hobbies," 220
"All Spice," 208
"American Boy," 227
"The American Boy," 215
"The American Rebels, 215
"The American Star," 224
"An Appeal for Maryland," 208
"An Appeal to the South," 208
"Are We Free?", 206
"Assassination of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria," 224
"Attention," 213
"Audax Omnia Perpeti Gens Lincolna Ruit . . .", 219
"Awake in Dixie," 213
"The Baltimore Girls," 226, 227
"Baltimore Prisoners at Fort Lafayette. Traitor's Doom," 222
"Baltimore Union Song," 222
"Battle at Bulls Run," 216
"The Battle Cry of the South," 206
"The Battle of Big Bethel," 216
"The Battle of Manassas," 216
"Battle Song of the Black Horseman," 213
"The Battle Song of the Maryland Line," 210
"Beauregard's Bells," 224
"Ben McCullough," 217
"Bobbin Around," 215
"The Bold Engineer," 220
"Brave and Saucy," 222
"The Broker's 'Stamp Act' Lament," 220
"Brownell the Gallant Zouave," 224
"Bully for All," 225
"Burn the Cotton," 213
"The Call," 207
"Call Me Pet Names," 216
"The Camels [*sic*] Are Coming," 215
"The Captain with his Whiskers as Sung by Mrs. W. J. Florence," 224
"Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," 210
"Chief Justice Taney," 212
"Chivalrous C. S. A.", 213
"Cling to the Union," 221
"Cocachelunk," 217
"The Confederate Marylander's Welcome to Gen. Robert E. Lee," 217
"The Confederate Soldier's Wife Parting from Her Husband," 227

" Congressman Ely," 219
" Cotton is King," 213
" Country, Home and Liberty," 214
" The Confederate States," 214
" Da Vis," 207, 208
" The Days of Absence," 212
" Dearest Mae," 210, 216, 224
" Death of Colonel Baker," 224
" The Debt of Maryland," 206
" Disgrace & Shame," 218
" Dix's Manifesto," 210
" Down Trodden Maryland," 207
" Duty Done, and Glory Won," 220
" The Dying Confederate's Last Words," 215
" Epitaph," 220
" The Exiled Soldier's Adieu to Maryland," 208
" The Exodus," 216
" The Federal Vendue, Abraham Auctionarius Loquitur," 219
" The Flag," 209
" The Flag of Our Union," 221, 225
" The Flag of Secession," 214
" Fort Sumter. A Southern Song," 216
" Fourth of July Union Song," 221
" Freedom's Banner," 224
" Freemen Arise," 224
" The French Lady," 225
" The Gallant Colonel," 210
" Gay and Happy," 209, 222
" General Beauregard," 217
" General Butler," 220
" General Jeff Davis," 217
" General Johnston," 217
" General Lee," 217
" Gen. McClellan, the Choice of the Nation," 225
" The Georgia Volunteer," 215
" God and Liberty," 214
" God Bless the South," 214
" God Save Our Country," 225
" God Save the South," 213, 214
" God Speed the Right," 214
" God Will Repay," 207
" Good News from Dixie," 214
" Graves for the Invaders," 213
" The Great Big Bethel Fight," 216
" Great Cry but Little Wool; or, the Leading Black Republicans," 219
" The Guerillas," 221
" Hail! To the South," 214
" Happy Land," 215
" Hark, O'er the Southern Hills," 208
" Hark! The Summons," 213
" Help Us Save the Union," 221
" Hi Ho Dobbin," 219
" Hicksie," 219
" Hurrah for Dixie," 213
" Hurrah! For the Union! ", 222
" I'm Afloat," 214
" I Carry Along the Despot's Song," 219
" An Impromptu," 209
" In Memory of Col. E. E. Ellsworth," 224
" Jackson is Dead," 217
" Jackson's Requiem," 224
" Jeff Davis in the White House," 219
" John Bell of Tennessee," 215
" John Merryman," 212
" John Todd," 219-220
" Johnny's Prayer," 223
" Kelvin Grove," 217
" Kentuckians to Arms," 215
" The Ladies of Baltimore, God Bless Them, They Have Beautiful Turned Up Noses," 228
" Land of the South! ", 215
" The Last Race of the Rail-Splitter," 218
" Let Haughty Gaul Invasion Threat," 213
" Life on the Ocean Wave," 222
" Lines on the Proclamation Issued by the Tyrant Lincoln, April First, 1863," 221
" Little Sogers," 215
" Long May It Wave," 214
" Marshal Kane," 212
" Maryland. A Fragment," 209
" Maryland in Chains," 209
" Maryland in Fetters! ", 209, 211
" The Maryland Martyrs," 212
" Maryland, My Maryland," 205, 206
" Maryland Zouaves' Own," 210
" The Marylander at Manassas. A Fact," 216
" The Marylander's Good Bye," 209
" Mayor Brown," 212
" A Mother's Prayer," 227
" Munson's Hill," 216
" My God! What Is All This For? ", 216
" My Maryland," 222
" My Normandy," 205
" Nelly Bly," 222
" The New C. S. A.", 225
" New Yankee Doodle," 225
" Niggers in Convention. Sumner's Speech," 221

"Ode on the Meeting of the Southern Congress," 215
"Oh Jeff! Why Don't You Come?", 212
"Oh No, My Love, No," 227
"Old Abe's Lament," 219
"Old Abe Lincoln," 218
"Old Dan Tucker," 212
"The Old Union Wagon," 221
"On the Death of Col. Ellsworth," 224
"Old Grey Goose," 222
"On the Death of General Lyon, . . .", 225
"On to Victory, Gen. McClellan's War Song," 225
"Our Beautiful Banner," 224
"Our Hope," 214
"Our Left. Dedicated to the Maryland Hero, Gen. Arnold Elzey, C. S. A.", 216
"Our Opinion," 220
"Our Opinion: a Hit at These Times," 208
"Our Rights," 214
"Our Union Flag," 228
"Our Union, Right or Wrong," 225
"Over the Left," 225
"Ye Parliaments of Old England," 219
"Peace," 215
"Physic for Traitors. The Great Union War Song," 223
"Picayune Butler," 220
"Picayune Butler's Coming, Coming," 224
"A Prayer to be Said by All Good Citizens on the Day . . .", 219
"Quamdiu tandem abutere patientiae nostra?", 220
"Rally Round the Standard Boys," 214
"The Rebel's Retort," 217
"Recognition of the Southern Confederacy," 215
"Reply to the Virginian Girl's Address to Her Maryland Lover," 228
"The Retreat of the General Army from Bull Run," 216
"The Retreat of the Sixty Thousand Lincoln Troops," 216
"Right Must Prevail," 207
"Root Hog or Die," 210
"Rosin Your Bow," 222
"Rousseau's Dream," 215
"Sam Houston and the People," 224
"The Saucy Little Turtle," 218
"Scott and the Veteran," 225
"Secession over Jordan," 225
"Sic Semper," 219
"Sitting on a Rail," 218
"The Slain at Baltimore," 223
"Smallwood Infantry Song," 210
"A Song for Dogs," 216
"Song of the Baltimore Rebels," 209
"The Song of the Exile," 213
"Song of the 'Maryland Line' at Richmond," 210
"Song of the Privateer," 218
"The South," 215
"The South and the North," 214
"South Carolina, a Patriotic Ode," 215
"The Southern Matron to Her Son," 227
"The Southern Men," 227
"Southern Prisoner Gives His Thanks to the Baltimore Ladies," 227
"Southern Red White and Blue," 214
"A Southern Scene," 220
"Southern Sentiments," 213
"Southern Song of Liberty," 214
"The Southern Wagon," 209
"Southern War Song," 213, 214
"Southern Yankee Doodle," 216
"Southron to Arms," 213
"The Southrons Are Coming," 215
"The Spirit of 1861," 214
"The Stars and Bars," 214
"The Stars and Stripes," 222
"Ye Stationary Navy. A Sarcasm," 218
"Stonewall Jackson, A Sentinel," 217
"Stonewall Jackson's Way," 217
"Sunny South," 209
"Sweet Evelina," 216
"Sweet Kitty Clover," 225
"Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum," 205-206
"Texan Rangers," 215
"Them Saucy Masked Batteries," 215
"There's Life in the Old Land Yet," 206-207
"There's Nobody Hurt!!", 218
"To Sauerwein," 208
"Tom Bowling," 207
"Traitor, Spare That Flag," 224
"The Tyrant's Cap," 209
"Uncle Abe, or a Hit at the Times," 218
"The Union," 222
"Union and Liberty," 224
"The Union 'Dixie'," 221
"The Union Yankee Doodle," 225

"The Very Latest from Butler," 220
"Villikins and His Dinah," 218
"The Virginia's Knocking Around," 207
"Vive-la-Compagnie," 225
"A Voice from the Old Maryland Line," 209
"Wait for the Wagon," 209, 216, 221
"We Know Our Rights," 222
"The White Rose," 209
"William Price," 219
"Yankee Vandals," 209
"Young Lockinvar," 220
"The Zouave Boys," 222
The Soul of a Nation, by Matthew Page Andrews, *reviewed*, 370-371
The South, Baltimore, 232 *ff.*
South River Club, 42-43
Southcomb, Mrs. Annie, 228
A Southern Lady (pseud.), 208, 227
Southern Relief Fair, 228
Spark (horse), 40, 369
Sparks, Jared, 71, 84
Speck, Henry, 326
Spencer, A., 82
Col. S. W., 255
Spoor, Dr. A. D., 82
Sprigg, Maj. Edward, 165
"Sprigg's Delight," 165
Spurrier, Capt., 347
Squire, Capt., 203
Stabler, Edward, 160
Standsby, Capt. John, 277-278
Stanley, Charles, 255
Myron N., 72
Stansbury, Henry D., *Maryland's 117th Trench Mortar Battery*, reviewed, 89
Stanton, Edwin M., 234, 249
Stein, Gertrude, 12
Steiner, Bernard C., 176, 248
Dr. Walter R., 13, 92
Steinmueller, Stephan, 65
Sterling, Rev. James, 45
Steuart, James, 132
Rebecca (Sprigg), Mrs. James, 132
William Calvert, *elected*, 93
Stevens, Dr. Alexander H., 72
Samuel, 157
Stier family, 123
Stier, Eugènie (Van Ertborn), Mrs. Jean Charles, 135
Henri Joseph, 124, 132, 133, 135 *ff.*, 265
Jean, 123 *ff.*
Jean Charles, 123-140, 261-272, 337-344
Stoddard, T. Lathrop, 103
Stirling, Archibald, Jr., 244
Stockbridge, Henry, 229, 244
Stockett, Francis, 282
Stoddert, Benjamin, 140
Rebecca (Lowndes), Mrs. Benjamin, 140
Stone, Dr. Harvey B., 14
Thomas, 171
Story, Enoch, 96
Strahan, Mr., 187
Straus, Philip S., 68
"Strawberry Hill," 127
Strawbridge, C. H., 97
Streett, Dr. H. Heyward, 14
Strobridge family, 97
Stuart, Dr. David, 138
Eleanor (Calvert) Custis, Mrs. David, 129, 138
George H., 72
Gilbert, 134, 261
Gen. J. E. B., 86
William, 267
"Sugar Bottom," 164, 166
Sullivan, M. J., *elected*, 92
Sumner, Alfred, 65
Charles, 71
Sumter (C. S. N.), 218
The Sun, Baltimore, 236, 253, 259
Sutherland, William, 224
Sutro, Ottilie, 90, 91
SUTRO, OTTILIE, *The Wednesday Club a Brief History from Authentic Sources*, 60-68
Sutro, Otto, 60 *ff.*, 90
Mrs. Otto, 66
Rose, 90, 91
Swaine, Thomas, 106
Swainson, Mrs. Otis W., *elected*, 94
Mrs. Otis W., 97
Swan, James, 76
Swann, Thomas, 240, 243, 247, 248
"SWEET AIR" OR "QUINN," BALTIMORE COUNTY, by Ronald T. Abercrombie, M. D., 19-36
Swingate, Benedict. *See* Calvert, Benedict (Swingate)

Talley, Susan Archer, 216
Taney, Roger Brooke, 96, 212
Tankerville, Lord, 369
Tasker, Anne (Bladen), Mrs. Benjamin, 293
Benjamin, 47
Benjamin, Jr., 369
Tayloe, Col. John, 40
Tayloes Traveller (horse), 369
Taylor, Bayard, 225
G. T. D., 77
Taylor's Island, 282
TeLinde, Dr. Richard W., 15
"The Tempest" (Shakespeare), 370
Tevis, Lieut. Col. C. C., 254

Thayer, Col. Sylvanus, 73
Dr. William Sydney, 9-10
Theobald, Dr. Samuel, 10
These Chesapeake Men, by Gilbert Byron, *reviewed*, 88-89
Thomas, Francis, 240, 245, 257
Dr. Henry M., 10
Martha Carey, 11
Col. Zarvona, 225
Thompson, H. Oliver, 90, 94, 229
Thornton, Rev. John, 49
Capt. Posthumous, 22
William, 45
Thornton-Cook, E., 115
"Thorpland," 141
"Three Springs Bottom," 165
Thursday Club, 167
Thurston, Thomas, 278
Tiffany, Charles C., 147
Tilghman, James, 155
Lloyd, 154
Matthew, 154, 362
Oswald, 154, 158
Peregrine, 365
Dr. Richard, 332
Capt. Samuel, 331, 332
Col. Tench, 155
Tilt-Hammer mill (Va.), 374
Timrod, Henry, 215
Tinker, William, 105
Todd, Dr. S. S., 297
Tolley, Commander Kemp, 96
Lt. Col. O. T., 96
Tom Fun (pseud.), 315
Tom Jones (horse), 40
Torrence, Rev. Clayton, 19
Toulmin, Dr. Harry, 11
Town Field, Allegany Co., 164
Townsend, Isaiah, 79
John, 377
T. J., 77
Trippe, Richard, 160
Tucker, Dr., 70
Tuesday Club (Annapolis), 43-55, 167, 170, 196
Turnbull, Bayard, 19, 26, 27
Two Flags (theatre), 328
Twyman, James, 349
Theresa, Mrs. James, 349
Tydings, Millard E., *elected*, 93
Tyler, Daniel, 219

Ugly Club (Annapolis), 44 *fn.*
Unconditional Unionists, 241 *ff.*
Union Club, 63
Union League, 241
Union League Association, 223
United States Bank, 272
Unkles, Mr. Unkle, 182
Upper Marlborough, 41, 149
Upper Old Town, 164 *ff.*
Usilton, William B., 255
Utie, George, 281
Mary (Beedle), Mrs. George, 281

The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, by Freeman H. Hart, *reviewed*, 193-194
Van Bibber, H. P., 77
Vandenbussche, Peter, 111
Van Havre, Isabel Marie (Stier), Mrs.
Jean Charles, 128, 131
Jean-Michel, 128, 136
Van Rensselaer, Florence, 95
Van Schaick, J. B., 84
Vaughan, John, 76
Ventress, J. A., 78
Verdebaugh, Henry, 61, 63
Veritas Sancti Johannes (French masonic lodge), 120
Verplanck, Gulian C., 73
Vethake, Dr. Henry, 74
Vickers, George, 245, 247, 255, 256, 257
Vinton family, 97
Virkus, Frederick Adams, editor, *The Handbook of American Genealogy*, 198
Volck, Dr. A. J., 60, 61, 68

Wadham College, Oxford, 299
Wainwright & Co., 326
Wallace, Charles, 170, 175
Wagner, Charles H., *elected*, 93
Wagoner, Mr., 369
Wainwright family, 97
Walker, Dr. George, 14
Capt. Thomas, 366
W. A., 61, 68
Waller family, 196
Wallis, Severn Teackle, 221, 375
Wallston (Walstone), John, 279 *ff.*
Waln, Edward, 77
"Walnut Grange" (Prince George's Co.), 136, 263
Walsh, Robert, 75, 76, 80
Ward, Mrs. Esther (Morrison), 19, 26, 27
William, 74
THE WARDEN PAPERS, edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 69-85
Warfield, Mr., 347
Warren, Edward, 293
Washington family, 295
Bushrod, 131
George, 151-153, 159-160, 177, 194, 291, 347
Dr. James A., 72
Martha (Dandridge), Mrs. George, 131
Washington, D. C., 136

Washington Academy, Princess Anne, 96, 345
Washington College, Chestertown, 151, 154, 157
Washington County Historical Society, 296
Washington Spy, 108
Washington University (Baltimore), 113
Wasp (warship), 200
Wasse, James, of London, 334
Waters, Nathaniel, 170
Webb, D. Stuart, *elected*, 92
Webster, Edwin H., 240, 243, 245, 257
THE WEDNESDAY CLUB A BRIEF SKETCH FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES, by Ottilie Sutre, 60-68
Weeks, Ezra, 81
Weiller, Mme., 66
Welch, Dr. William Henry, 4 *ff.*
Welles, Gideon, 219, 234
Welsh, Edwin C., 97
Wells, Col. George, 282 *ff.*
Wendell, Peter, 80
Wertenbaker, Thomas J., *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture*, reviewed, 195-196
Wescott, George B., 255
West, William Edward, 340
Western Branch Club, 43
Westminster, Md., 210
Weston, B. Latrobe, 89
Wharton, H. M., D. D., 229
Wheeler, Joseph Towne, 41, 47, 91, 198, 298
WHEELER, JOSEPH TOWNE, *Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century Maryland*, 273-276
WHEELER, JOSEPH TOWNE, *Reading and other Recreations of Marylanders*, 37-55, 167-180
Whitaker, Mrs. D. K., 209
White, Dr., 349
  Campbell P., 77
  Gov. John (Va.), 370
  Ethel, 91
  Dr. John Campbell, 81
  John O., *elected*, 92
  Roy B., *elected*, 93
  Bishop William, 154
Whitemarsh Parish, 150
Whittemore, J. J. Lloyd, 78
Whittington, Mr., 352
Whyte, Clymer, 65
Wicokomeo (Wicomico) River, 277
Wiley, Bell Irvin, *The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, reviewed, 195
Wilkens, Col. Edward, 255
Wilkinson, Gen. James, 85
Wilks, John, 84
Will's Creek, 162 *ff.*
Will's Town, 162 *ff.*
William and Sarah (sloop), 285
Williams, Emily R., *elected*, 92
  Helen Maria, 84
  Dr. John Whitridge, 8
  Thomas, 365
Williamson, Rev. Alexander, 143, 146
  B. F., 90
  Bernard F., 96
  J. J., 96
Wilson, William Power, 90
Winchester, James Price, 94
Wisda, Georgia Gosney, 89, 97
Winchester (Va.), 194, 213
Winder, Capt., 354
Winslow, Benjamin, 162, 166
Winthrop, Gov. John (Connecticut), 332, 335
Winthrop, Gov. John (Massachusetts), 335
Witherspoon, Rev. John, 152
"Wollmans," 52
Wood, James, 194
  Dr. Joseph M., 72
Woodcock, Miss, 301, 316
"Woodcote" (England), 301
Woodfin, Maude H., editor, *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739–1741*, . . . reviewed, 192-193
Woodruff, Dr. Caldwell, 96
Woods, Leonard, Jr., 76-77
Wool, Gen. John E., 243
Worcester, Joseph E., 85
Worcester Parish, 146
Worthington, Nicholas, 312
Wright, John, 332
  Mrs. John P., 96
Wurdemann, Dr. F., 80, 85
Wroth, Lawrence C., 49, 50, 52, 315
Wye, 105
"Wye Hall," 292
"Wye House," 292
Wye (Wey) River, 333
Wylie, Samuel B., 85
  Mrs. Bruce, *elected*, 92
Wysham, Henry C., 60, 61, 64 *ff.*

Yeardley, Sir George, 370
Young, H., 201
  Dr. Hugh Hampton, 14
Young Prince (vessel), 334

Zachia Swamp, 277
Zion Reformed Church, Hagerstown, 296
Zouck, Mrs. George, *elected*, 93

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